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ALBANIA VIEWS USTINOV'S TASS INTERVIEW

AU011901 Tirana ATA in English 1700 GMT 1 Aug 83

[Text] Tirana, August 1 (ATA) -- For the third time within a month the defence minister of the Soviet Union, Marshal Ustinov, reiterated the determination of the Soviet social-imperialists to increase and modernize the stockpile of the nuclear weapons. In an interview granted to the Soviet news agency, TASS, he declared that Moscow will respond immediately to the deployment of the medium range American nuclear missiles in Western Europe. As previously, he justified these threatening statements with the "priority of the Americans" in the number of the nuclear warheads and in other military fields. Ustinov made it clear that the armament race between the two superpowers will be further stepped up. He said that the Soviet Union will not tolerate the military priority of anyone.

Threatening each other of "revenge" with regard to the upset of the "military equilibrium" between them and the aggressive blocs they manipulate, both superpowers are strengthening and modernizing ever more their aggressive war machine. They try to justify these war preparations with the so-called efforts for the preservation of the "equilibrium", which they clamorously advertise as the only possibility to avert the war.

BULGARIA, POLAND MARK CSCE ANNIVERSARY

Bulgarian Press Review

AU011000 Sofia BTA in English 0837 GMT 1 Aug 83

["The Cause of Helsinki Lives" -- BTA headline; quotation marks as received]

[Text] Sofia, August 1 (BTA) -- On the occasion of the anniversary of the successful end of the all-European signing of the Helsinki Final Act the national dailies today carry commentaries on the exceptionally great merits of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and the other fraternal socialist countries for this success, as well as of the active moves of the European public.

Mr Gero Grozev, chairman of the National Committee for European Security and Cooperation, writes in RABOTNICHESKO DELO today that the signing of the Final Act was a great success of the ideas of peaceful coexistence and a defeat of the champions of the 'cold war'. With good reason the top Soviet leader, Mr Yuriy Andropov, has warned that the greatest threat to the European security is the intention to deploy the American medium-range missiles in Western Europe, to make of the continent's territory a launching ground for striking a blow at the Soviet Union and its allies, stresses the author.

He points out that the Soviet Union and the socialist community countries have come out with an unfolded programme aimed at healthifying the political climate in Europe and the world, against this real threat and in order to frustrate the infernal plans of the imperialists. Further in the article is stressed the great importance of the joint declaration of the fraternal socialist countries in Moscow, in which the public is called for active moves in favour of peace.

"The cause of Helsinki lives, is vital and will survive", underlines in conclusion Mr Gero Grozev. "The vitality of this cause was reaffirmed at the Madrid meeting. The United States of America has made many efforts to turn it into a field of confrontation."

Undoubtedly the most significant result of the work of the meeting in the Spanish capital will be the already coordinated decision to call a conference on the measures for the consolidation of trust and security and on disarmament in Europe. The very fact of having such a conference called will contribute to healthifying the political climate on the continent, will render a fresh impetus to the struggle of the champions of peace for defending the Helsinki cause, for forestalling the nuclear threat".

Mr Boykop Rangelov's commentary in TRUD is also devoted to the same subject. He dwells on the U.S. anti-European strategy. "The real detente" which has suddenly become an object of concern will remain a mere phrase if the negotiations in Geneva and Vienna continue to be hindered, if the shipments of neutron and chemical weapons addressed "to Europe" will continue. The Pentagon possesses excess programmes for armament but has no programme for military detente which would be the best proof of the loyalty to the Final Act made public", the author underlines.

OTECHESTVEN FRONT writes that under the cover of an imaginary "danger from the East", of "the necessity" of rearmament the NATO member-countries headed by the U.S.A. freeze the negotiations in Geneva and Vienna, increase their military budgets, make attempts to militarize space, too.

"Thanks to the constructive approach of the Soviet Union and the socialist community countries, after the continuous efforts at the Madrid meeting now a successful end is being outlined. Thanks to her initiatives regarding the matters of peace and security on the Balkans, Bulgaria also makes her contribution to establishing an atmosphere of understanding and goodneighbourliness among the Balkan peoples, to converting the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear weapon, into a region of stable peace", OTECHESTVEN FRONT writes.

PPR Deputy Minister's Remarks

LD012252 Warsaw PAP in English 1444 GMT 1 Aug 83

[Text] Warsaw 1 Aug -- "The Helsinki Final Act, a document geared to the future, based the European security on the recognition of political and territorial facts shaped as a result of the victory over nazism, and proclaimed 10 principles to govern the relations between states participating in the conference", director of Poland's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Deputy Foreign Minister Jozef Wiejacz in an interview for PAP in connection with the eighth anniversary of signing the act.

He stressed that "the meeting in Helsinki created a broad framework for equal, mutually beneficial cooperation in economics, culture, information and in the so-called humanitarian fields."

"The security conference and the Helsinki spirit inspired great hopes for the future. Unfortunately, voices undermining the significance of the conference and the Final Act appeared in the United States and in some other Western countries almost a day after the document was signed. As a result, the meeting organized at the end of 1977 and the beginning of 1978 in Belgrade failed to bring expected progress and only ended with a formal document."

Making reference to the meeting in Madrid, the vice-minister underlined that "it started in a more complicated and tense situation. An increasing number of confrontative factors appeared in the U.S. policy. The armaments course was intensified, and the Reagan administration began to profess policy from the position of strength."

"In the first months of 1982 the United States and some of its allies tried to block the meeting or as much as cancel it, using as a pretext the situation in Poland, and especially the introduction of martial law.

"Although there is no 'Helsinki spirit' at present, the CSCE process itself remains and a chance for a return to the policy of detente and cooperation still exists. The success of reason and realism in Madrid is most of all the result of the patient and consistent peace policy of the socialist countrie- This policy was confirmed in the declaration of the Political Consultative Committee of the states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty last January and in the recent statement of the socialist states made after the meeting of their leaders in Moscow."

"The European non-aligned and neutral states and a number of other states, [words indistinct] care for preservation and strengthening of political mechanisms serving security, detente and cooperation can also be credited with this policy.

"Those states, similarly to Poland, see the future of Europe in strengthening of security and not in the arms race, in development of cooperation and not in confrontation, in a return to the 'Helsinki spirit' and in continuation of the CSCE process".

Next, Jozef Wiejacz discussed Poland's role in shaping the process of detente in Europe. "Poland, in concert with its allies, forwarded an important proposal at the Madrid meeting which was aimed at extending the process of detente onto the military sphere."

"The proposal became the basis for the already adopted decision to call a conference on confidence-building measures and security in Europe, a conference which will begin in Stockholm next January.

"Poland was trying to contribute to the adoption of a balanced Final Act in such a way as to end the meeting with a positive result. Poland is satisfied that the Final Act has been negotiated despite great difficulties and that the foreign minsters will adopt this document in Madrid between September 7 and 9, 1983.

"Poland is anxious to believe that the meeting of foreign ministers in Madrid will begin the process of improvement of the relations in Europe. The latter should be shaped in accordance with the CSCE Final Act and its principles.

Neither interference in internal matters of other states nor the policy of economic sanctions and restrictions or ideological and propaganda subversion is compatible with the Final Act.

"It is about time for the United States and those countries which for different reasons support Washington's course to see the situation in Europe realistically. European security depends on maintaining the military balance and on respect for political and [words indistinct] positive development of relations, improvement of the situation and good prospects for the future of the old continent are only possible if those two factors are recognized", concluded the deputy minister.

DEFEAT FOR REAGAN POLICY SEEN IN HOUSE VOTE

AU301532 Sofia BTA in English 0845 GMT 30 Jul 83

["Criteria For Democracy" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, July 30 (BTA) -- A substantial political and moral defeat for the U.S. Administration and President -- this is how RABOTNICHESKO DELO describes the voting on the Central American issue held in the House of Representatives.

The author of the commentary Mr Ioan Mateev stresses that the White House-proposed measures are in fact aiming at legalizing the unlimited military, political and economic interference of the Pentagon, the CIA and the monopolist capital with that part of the world, at destabilizing the revolutionary power in Nicaragua, at doing away with the liberation movement in El Salvador and at new hostile acts against Cuba. The rejection of these proposals shows that in the very legislative body of the USA the myths of the communist threat against the USA on the part of Cuba, Nicaragua and the Salvadoran patriots, the myths of the "hand of Moscow" in the events of Central America is received with reservation. It is also an expression of concern on the part of the US public over the "Vietnamizing" of the U.S. interference to the south of Rio Grande, Mr Ioan Mateev stresses. Then he goes on writing that above all the voting means that the White House has not a mandate of the majority for the dangerous course of threats and direct interference with Central America.

In spite of all [as received] the White House has no intentions to reject the gun-boat policy and that of the "big club." Just as it proceeded last Autumn when in the intermediate elections millions of U.S. citizens voted for freezing the nuclear weapon now again the U.S. Government has the intention to ignore the will of the majority. With the help of the Senate where it has a sufficient number of followers the White House hopes to impose in Central America once again its criteria for democracy or more precisely speaking, its imperial ambitions for hegemony.

TODOROV-LED BCP DELEGATION RETURNS FROM CUBA

AU301905 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 30 Jul 83

[Text] Sofia, July 30 (BTA) -- This evening a party and government delegation, led by Mr Stanko Todorov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the National Assembly, returned from Havana. The delegation particiapted in the celebrations on the day of the national uprising in Cuba -- the 30th anniversary of the attack of "Moncada."

RUMORS OF STROUGAL'S SON CONTEMPLATING DEFECTION

AU021050 Vienna KURIER in German 2 Aug 83 p 3

[Report by Erich Grolig: "Will Son of CSSR Premier Defect?"]

[Text] Persistent rumors about CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal: Do part of his family clan intend to move to Austria? A question that is at the center of the latest discussions about the government chief's political and private difficulties. Lubomir Strougal, Jr., his son, -- it is rumored in Prague -- has allegedly left the CSSR legally for Austria and does not want to return. Meanwhile, everyone in Prague knows by now that the premier's brother has been in Vienna as long as since the beginning of this year.

People in the CSSR have known at least since the beginning of this year that things were not going too well for the premier when he suddenly disappeared overnight from the political scene. A very brief release published in May merely said that the government chief had undergone a harmless, medical corrective treatment [gesundheitliche Korrektur].

This treatment, however, does not seem to have been so harmless after all. Because the official photographs published after his surprising reappearance show a man who has lost weight and looks ill, a man who, it is asserted in the CSSR, is suffering from incurable intestinal cancer.

Just as surprising as Strougal's reappearance was the government reshuffle that was effected simultaneously by state and party chief Gustav Husak; one of the most important changes concerned the until that time omnipotent interior minister, Jaromir Obzina, who took over the Ministry of Technological and Investment Promotion and was promoted to deputy premier.

In Prague circles this is regarded as a first step toward divesting Strougal of power and as setting the stage to replace him for political and health reasons -- for political reasons because Kremlin boss Yuriy Andropov does not trust "capitalist" Strougal, whose great fondness for pretty women and houses has brought him to the verge of scandal.

According to the views disseminated in Prague, a first indication of Strougal's being divested of power was the deposition of his brother Premysl Strougal as deputy foreign trade minister last year, and his assignment to the CSSR Embassy's trade mission in Vienna as of the beginning of this year -- an assignment that in the CSSR is regarded as a downgrading.

It is a fact that Premysl Strougals' accreditation in Austria is dated 6 December 1982, and it is also a fact that the premier's son, Lubomir junior, was issued a visitor's visa by the Austrian Embassy in Prague, dated 30 June 1983.

This is not his first visit to Austria. Among CSSR dissident circles, it is regarded as an open secret that young Lubomir Strougal has been in Austria repeatedly to attend lectures on architecture here, and that on more than one occasion he stayed until after the validity of his re-entry permit had expired, whereupon it was quietly (because of his father's postion) renewed.

The same circles also think they know the reason that he overstayed his permit: A young female compatriot of Strougal junior, who lives in Vienna and is an opponent of the Prague regime, on account of whom the government chief's son would like to stay in the West.

SED MESSAGE TO CPSU ON BOLSHEVIK ANNIVERSARY

AU011410 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30/31 Jul 83 pp 1-2

[ND report: "Fraternal Militant Greetings on 80th Anniversary of Founding of Bolshevik Party: Erich Honecker Conveyed Congratulations to Yuriy Andropov"]

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- The SED Central Committee has conveyed the following congratulatory address signed by its General Secretary Erich Honecker to Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee:

Esteemed Comrade Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov:

On behalf of the SED Central Committee, of the GDR communists and entire people, as well as on my own behalf, I convey fraternal militant greetings and heartfelt congratulations to the CPSU Central Committee and to all working people of the Soviet Union on the 80th anniversary of the founding of the glorious party of the Bolsheviks.

The emergence of the combat party of the Russian proletariat at the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party was a decisive event for Russia's revolutionary workers movement; it was the outcome of the scientific farsightendness and revolutionary unyielding attitude of Vladimir Ilich Lenin and of the Bolsheviks rallied around him. This founding took place on the basis of the ideological, political, and organizational principles worked out by Lenin, which have retained their applicability to the present day. Thus emerged the revolutionary vanguard which has brilliantly weathered all the historical tests and which has led the working people on one-sixth of the earth to social and national liberation, onto a new road of social development.

Seasoned in the struggle against tsarist autocracy and against the imperialist war, leaning on the experiences of two revolutions and equipped with Lenin's doctrine of the socialist revolution, the Bolshevik Party led the Great October Socialist Revolution to victory. Thus it basically transformed the appearance of Russia and decisively influenced the entire further development of mankind.

Under party leadership, guided by Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary workers party, allied with the working peasants, defeated domestic reaction and the imperialist intervention and successfully built socialism.

In the Great Fatherland War the Bolshevik Party was the leader and initiator of the heroic resistance and of the victory over fascism.

Today, the Soviet people under the leadership of the CPSU, the most experienced and most combat-tested detachment of the international communist and workers movement, are working with great verve on perfecting the developed socialist society.

For the SED the close fraternal militant alliance with the CPSU has been and still is the foundation for a secure and successful development of the GDR. This historic perception, which is shared by the entire GDR people, was again impressively reaffirmed by the results of the visit of our country's party-state delegation to the USSR this May.

Rest assured that the GDR Communists, guided by the doctrine of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, which will forever unite us, will do all they can to consolidate and deepen the inviolable militant alliance between our parties, peoples, and states in the interest of socialism and peace.

Esteemed Yuriy Vladimirovich, we wish you, all Communists and the entire Soviet people great new successes in communist building and in implementing the decisions of the 26th party congress.

Long live the CPSU, the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the Soviet people.

HONECKER, STOPH TELEGRAM TO FIDEL CASTRO

AU271427 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Jul 83 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and GDR State Council chairman, and Willi Stoph, GDR Council of Ministers chairman, have sent the following telegram to Dr Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party [PCC] Central Committee and chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba.

Esteemed Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz: On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the national uprising we convey to you, to the PCC Central Committee, to the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and to the Cuban people the most cordial congratulations and fraternal militant greetings from the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the people of the GDR.

The storming of the Moncada Barracks in Santiago de Cuba was the guiding symbol for the beginning of the struggle for the Cuban people's national and social liberation. This action ushered in the final victory over the hated Batista dictatorship and opened for the Cuban people the shining vista of socialism.

In firm friendship with the socialist states, the heroic Cuban people, led by the PCC, are scoring important successes in building a new an truly humane society. They resist all imperialist acts of aggression and attempts at interfering with their sovereign affairs. Their active support for the preservation of peace, for disarmament, and international peaceful cooperation have won them great respect. The Cuban foreign policy, committed to this cause, enjoys worldwide recognition.

Cuba's merits for consolidating and strengthening the Nonaligned Movement, for worldwide international cooperation, and for transforming international economic relations on a democratic basis are of great historical significance.

The relations between the GDR and the Republic of Cuba are developing on the stable foundation of the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation between the GDR and the Republic of Cuba. The meetings at the highest level are making special contributions toward deepening the fraternal alliance between the GDR and the Republic of Cuba. The communists and all citizens of the GDR congratulate the PCC and the Cuban people on their impressive achievements which they have accomplished in implementing the decisions of the Second PCC Congress.

We wish you, esteemed Comrade Fidel Castro, and all Cuban comrades good health, creative energy, and new successes in building socialism and in our joint struggle for safeguarding world peace.

MITTAG MEETS WITH GRENADIAN PREMIER IN CUBA

AU291258 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Jul 83 p 1

[Text] Santiago de Cuba (ADN) -- During the celebrations on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the storming of the Moncada in Santiago de Cuba, a cordial meeting was held between Politburo member Guenter Mittag, SED Central Committee secretary, and Maurice Bishop, chairman of the New Jewel Movement and prime minister of Grenada.

Maurice Bishop conveyed cordial greetings to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and GDR State Council chairman, and recalled his visit to the GDR with a party-state delegation headed by him in 1982. His meeting at that time with Erich Honecker, and the agreements concluded between the two parties and governments, he said, have led to important results in shaping their bilateral relations.

The sides declared that in view of the tensions being fanned by imperialism and the hotbeds of conflict, it was more pressing than ever to strengthen the unity of the anti-imperialist and peace forces. They called for constructively developing the comradely cooperation between the GDR and Grenada to the benefit of both peoples.

HERRMANN, PCC'S HERRERO MEET IN HAVANA

AU291326 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Jul 83 pp 1-2

[Text] Havana (ADN) -- A cordial meeting between Politburo Member Joachim Herrmann, SED Central Committee secretary, and Antonio Perez Herrero, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party (PCC), centered on an exchange of experience on questions of the SED's and the PCC's ideological work.

The Cuban politician briefed his guest on the steps and measures being undertaken by the Cuban Party to purposefully implement the course of the second party congress even under the conditions of constant provocations and a massive anticommunist baiting campaign of U.S. imperialism.

Joachim Herrmann outlined the experiences and results of the SED's ideological work. In the Karl Marx Year 1983, he said, it is a particular commitment for the GDR Communists and working people to strengthen socialism on German soil, thus rendering a contribution toward safeguarding peace. Both sides agreed to continue and expand the multifaceted cooperation between SED and PCC in the field of agitation and propaganda.

HERMANN AXEN MEETS CYPRIOT POLITICIAN

AU280741 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23/24 Jul 83 p 2

[Summary] Berlin (ADN) -- On 22 July Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, met for a friendly talk with Donis Christofinis, member of the Politburo and head of the Department for International Relations of the Central Committee of the Restorative Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL). "The Cypriot guest reported on the struggle for a uniform, independent, and nonaligned Cypriot state, and against the imperialist plans for transforming Cyprus into a military and aggression basis of NATO." Hermann Axen reported on the creative work of the working people of the GDR in Karl Marx Year.

"The partners in the talk said that the supreme cause of all communists was to prevent the danger to people's peace and life caused by the intensive armament and confrontation course of the United States and NATO. They praised the Moscow statement of the highest representatives of socialist states and noted, as a result of the scientific Karl Marx conference, the strong impulses for strengthening the unity of action of communist and workers parties and their cooperation with other progressive forces in the struggle for peace and social progress.

Hermann Axen stressed the firm solidarity of the SED and the GDR people for the struggle of AKEL, and both partners praised the close fraternal relations between the two parties.

KROLIKOWSKI RECEIVES DANISH ENVIRONMENT MINISTER

LD291400 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1150 GMT 29 Jul 83

[Text] Berlin 29 Jul (ADN) -- Werner Krolikowski, first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, today received Christian Christensen, Danish minister of environmental affairs, who is visiting the GDR for talks on the further development of cooperation in this field. The two politicians praised the steady development of bilateral relations and endorsed their further expansion.

Werner Krolikowski stressed the importance of political dialogue between states with different social systems, because this encourages a better understanding of their respective viewpoints and helps to improve the international situation. There was agreement in noting that it is necessary to strengthen activities aimed at safeguarding peace and international cooperation for the benefit of the peoples. This also creates favorable conditions for solving environmental protection tasks in both the national and international framework.

CONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS CAUSE LOSSES FOR ECONOMY

DW011145 East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1845 GMT 21 Jul 83

[From the "Prisma" program]

[Summary] A total of 20,000 apartments will be built at the Grosser Dreesch construction site in Schwerin. The housing construction combine will build 1,200 this year. Meanwhile the warranty department of the construction combine must yearly repair 2,500 faults in finished apartments. "Particularly irksome to the tenants is the moisture damage; rain is seeping in." Since the beginning of the year the combine management has charged the individual brigades with repairing whatever damage they have caused or failed to notice during control checks. All these faults, however, are not exclusively attributable to slovenly work by the combine workers.

The assembly department of the combine has to take what it gets from the prefabricated panel works, and panels often have faults. When a panel cannot be installed, it means loss of time and greater cost. The assembly and rough interior finishing departments of the construction combine make every effort to repair what they can on the faulty panels, but at considerable expense. "On the average, in fact, they must invest 14 hours per housing unit for reworking."

Granted, the construction combine charges the panel works with these expenses, yet the damage to the national economy remains. Stricter control in the panel works definitely is indicated.

SPARKS, CIGARETTE BUTT SAID TO CAUSE LPG FIRES

DW011147 East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1845 GMT 21 Jul 83

[From the "Prisma" program]

[Summary] During the hot weather, GDR fire brigades had to rush out from 6 to 10 times a day to extinguish agricultural fires. The harvest was lost, for example, on a "100 hectare field in Marxwalde just the day before the harvester-threshing machines were due to start mowing." The loss amounted to several tons of bread grain. The cause of the fire presumably was a cigarette butt.

In Glozow LPG, a harvester-threshing machine caused sparks to ignite dust particles which in turn set fire to the straw left after threshing operations. The grain of 12 hectares was burned. In Trebatsch LPG, a barn full of straw caught fire and burned down because a defective straw press had emitted sparks which ignited a bale of straw. The smouldering fire inside the bale was not noticed until it was too late. The damage was 25 tons of straw lost. Including cleanup operations reconstruction, the total damage comes to M70,000.

BRIEFS

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION COOPERATION -- On 2 July Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of environmental protection and water management, and Yuriy Izrael, chairman of the USSR State Committee for hydrometeorlogy and environmental control, signed an agreement on scientific-technological cooperation in the field of environmental protection and hydrometeorology in Berlin. In accordance with the results of the joint consultations between the GDR and USSR party and state delegations in May 1983 in Moscow, this agreement serves to further deepen the scientific-technological cooperation in rationally using the natural resources as well as the greater and more efficient application of the findings of the hydrometeorologic research for the greater efficiency of the national economy. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Jul 83 p 2 AU]

JOINT COMMISSION WITH BRAZIL -- On 6 Jul the Joint GDR-Brazil Commission ended its fifth meeting with the signing of a document by Wilhelm Bastian, deputy minister of foreign trade of the GDR, and Ambassador Ivan Batalha, head of the European department of the Foreign Ministry of Brazil. At the meeting the development of the economic relations between the two countries was analyzed, and it was noted with satisfaction that trade had increased by 35 percent compared to 1981. The two parties discussed measures for 1983 and 1984 to continue the positive development, giving particular attention to the increased industrial cooperation between the combines and enterprises of the GDR and the Brazilian industrial ministries. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Jul 83 p 2 AU]

LEADERS' MESSAGE TO POLAND ON NATIONAL DAY

AU271938 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 Jul 83 p 3

[Text] Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council; and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, sent the following greetings message to Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PPR, and Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State of the PPR, in Warsaw:

Dear comrades: On the occasion of the national holiday of the PPR, the 39th anniversary of Poland's rebirth, we send comradely greetings and friendly good wishes to you, the Polish communists, and the fraternal Polish people on behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, the Presidential Council and Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, and our working people.

Our party and government and our public, as a whole, wholeheartedly welcome the fact that the protection of the historical achievements of socialism is assured and, as a result of wide-ranging efforts by the Polish communists and patriotic forces, a socialist recovery is gradually advancing in the PPR. We follow with constant attention and highly value the successes you have attained to date in liquidating the grave socioeconomic crisis. We are convinced that the Polish party and government, in close unity with the working people, will be able, with a consistent application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism in a manner that takes also national characteristics into consideration, to overcome the difficulties and consolidate and further develop the results of socialist construction.

We note with pleasure that the PPR, as a firm member of the socialist community, is pursuing increasingly active activity in the international sphere for the good of socialism, peace, and international security.

We are gratified to be able to note that our countries' relations are developing continuously and successfully in conformity with the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance concluded on 18 June 1948, on the basis of our mutual socialist principles, and in the spirit of the traditional fraternal friendship between our peoples.

On our part, we will continue to do everything to ensure that our multifaceted and fruitful cooperation with the PPR should continue to develop in all areas of life for the benefit of our peoples and socialism.

On your national holiday we wish that you and the fraternal Polish people may continue to advance successfully on the path of socialist construction and attain many successes in your work for making the PPR prosper.

OVARI-LED DELEGATION RETURNS FROM CUBA

LD302333 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 30 Jul 83

[Text] The Hungarian party and government delegation headed by Miklos Ovari, member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary, which attended the festivities marking the 30th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada barracks, has arrived home. Miklos Ovari was received in Havana by Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba and head of state.

26 JUL PRESS CONFERENCE ON PENAL CODE AMENDMENT

AU291455 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 27 Jul 83 pp 1-2

[Barbara Droszcz report: "Government Amendments to the Penal Code and Laws on the Control of Publications and Public Performances -- Minister Jerzy Urban Meets with Journalists"]

[Excerpts] Minister Jerzy Urban, the government press spokesman, met with foreign journalists on Tuesday at the INTERPRESS Press Center in Warsaw. Tadeusz Skora, deputy minister of justice, and Jan Pakula, deputy chairman of the Main Office of the Control of Press, Publishing, and Public Performances also took part in the meeting, whose main subject was the government amendments to the Penal Code and the laws on the control of publications and public performances.

During the second part of the meeting the foreign journalists present took the floor and asked many questions, which were answered by Minister Urban, Minister Skora, and J. Pakula. Here are some of the more important issues they touched on:

Question: Is there any legal way in Poland by which one could voice one's dissent?

Skora: We can voice our reservations on any subject without violating the regulations of the Penal Code. All our sociopolitical organizations serve this purpose and no one takes responsibility for what he says during their meetings. Any criticism on the way in which the state, its bodies, or its economy function is not only permissible, but is also widely practiced, and performs a positive role.

Urban: Not only meetings serve this purpose. One way of making a protest of an economic nature is, for example, a strike, which has been anticipated in the law on trade unions. Demonstrations to voice protest are also permissible, as long as they have been legalized by the administrative authorities. But we are not hiding the fact that we are protecting the political system and the state against street riots. The authorities will be controlling what goes on in the streets. We have planned that protest meetings should take different forms and should be held in different places than the ones they normally took place in.

Question: The proposal to amend Article 4 of the law on the control of publications plans to renew the censorship of texts that have previously been censored. Is this logical?

Skora: In 1980 and 1981 many publications appeared in the atmosphere of blackmail which the strikes created and this violated Article 2 of the law. If there had been no way to censure them again in the event of their reappearance, then they could go on appearing forever. The government is proposing that our office carry out a second control of the content of such publications should they reappear. This is not a repeat control, since it would only apply to second editions of publications.

Question: Will a repeat control of films which have already been released be carried out?

Skora: No. The amendment does not concern films.

Question: Could "Man of Iron" be shown now?

Skora: This is up to the minister of culture and the Film Distribution Enterprise.

Question: If an underground activist like, for instance, Bujak were to give himself up, then would he not be brought to justice on the strength of the rules proposed by the amendment?

Skora: Under no circumstance would that happen. If he comes forward voluntarily, then we cannot bring him to justice. This is the whole point of the amnesty. These people will be able to give themselves up until the end of October, although of course, investigations are still underway and therefore the militia and the prosecutors are continuing their work, which means that if they apprehend an underground activist who is in hiding then there is no question of an amnesty being granted since a condition of obtaining it is coming forward voluntarily.

Question: How many people have already taken advantage of this amnesty?

Skora: Monday was in fact the first normal day that it was operative, since before then we were celebrating a national holiday and after that the OFFICIAL GAZETTE had to be printed and sent to the judges, who cannot, after all, carry out their work on the basis of the information they read in the press or hear on the television. So, up until Monday a total of 90 persons were granted amnesty, 84 people were freed from temporary arrest, and 12 people who had been sentenced by misdemeanor courts for various offenses were released, which amounts in total to 174 persons. I think that people will be released at a similar rate to this during the next few days, that is, today, tomorrow, and the day after.

Question: How many of these were the perpetrators of crimes committed for political motives?

Skora: Some 137 people.

Question: Where do you draw the line between information that is false and information that criticizes?

Urban: False information contradicts the truth and is at odds with the facts, whereas criticism does not concern facts, but their appraisal. The Penal Code does not concern criticism, but false information. The press law which is in actual fact being prepared at the moment deals with criticism, and this draft has already been submitted to the Sejm. It ensures extensive protection for criticism and plans to penalize those who muffle or hinder it. The legislator's attitude is, therefore, diametrically opposed in relation to the concepts of false and critical information, since the former is punishable while the latter is legally protected.

Question: Last year the Polish Government attempted to minimize the significance of the sanctions imposed by the U.S., and now it says that they are causing Poland great losses? What is the real truth and what is the fiction of the matter?

Urban: The government has taken the same position over U.S. sanctions all along. They have caused much harm to the people, but we are managing somehow by changing our sights to CEMA countries. The only fiction or falsity in this is the questioner's impression that something may have changed in our approach but this is, of course, an impression which is understandable.

Question: Can the prosecutor apply to the Supreme Court to reduce the sentences of those who were found guilty in the proceedings against the Confederation for an Independent Poland and the Social Self-Defense Committee?

Skora: Yes, the prosecutor can apply to the Supreme Court in these cases with a proposal to discontinue the case or to remit a sentence. We can suppose that the prosecutor will exercise his right to do this in accordance with the situation in the country and the state of security and law and order. If the threat to these things diminishes, if the perpetrators of crimes committed by the underground give themselves up, and if they stop organizing demonstrations and such activities, then the prosecutor can apply on behalf of such cases also. However, continuing threats to security and law and order can make it difficult for the prosecutor to take such steps.

Question: How many people are there, in your estimate, in the underground?

Urban: The press has reported on all those who have come forward. There have not been a great number of these, which is understandable, but the amnesty will last quite some time, so these people should consider this well; besides, they work in collective structures and are now doubtless discussing and consulting one another over this. How many people are there in the underground? It is difficult to say. It is, above all, composed of two categories of people. The first are those who, like Bujak, are in hiding. There are not many and I think that on a nationwide scale there must only be about 110 to 120 of them. The other category, which I cannot even put an estimate on, are people who live and work normally without going into hiding, but take part in underground activities which the prosecutors are unaware of. They can, of course, come forward now.

Question: Sejm Deputy Zawadzki told the Sejm that Primate Glemp has reservations about both the amendments. Did this influence the final drafts?

Urban: Certainly; the Episcopate commented on the entire package of draft laws which the Sejm was examining in July. Both the government and the Sejm conscientiously considered these remarks, which were partly taken into account. However, passing laws is the Sejm's intransferable right.

Question: How will official circles commemorate the third anniversary of the 1980 agreements?

Urban: The government professes the principles of the agreements, it respects the spirit in which they were created and considers the protest made then by the workers class against the distortions of socialism as justified, and will, in keeping with this, commemorate this anniversary. We intend to publish a documentary on the history of the agreements.

Question to Minister Urban: If someone had said to you just after 13 December 1981, that martial law in Poland will last 19 months and 12 days, would you have said it was "too long" or "too short?"

Urban: I would have said it was too long. Army General Jaruzelski also expressed this view recently, saying if it had not been for circumstances that did not favor the lifting of martial law, like the Western sanctions and the determination of small groups of people to cause unrest in the country, then the period of martial law could have been shorter. Other reasons for it being so long, hinge, of course on the economy. If we had managed to stimulate the economy earlier and satisfy people's needs better, then this would surely have favored the quicker lifting of martial law.

During the afternoon J. Urban met in turn with Polish journalists. The subject of the meeting was the same, but instead of Jan Pakula, he was accompanied by Robert Czapiewski, from the Ministry of Justice, and Jan Dziewonski, from the Ministry of Finance.

Jerzy Urban said at this meeting, we are not attempting to conceal the political intentions behind these regulations. They are based on the experiences of recent years and our aim is to protect the basic interests of the state. We want to impede the recurrence of the phenomena against which martial law was directed. The aim is that law and order following its lifting should be consolidated and this is why it should be reinforced with certain precautions. The government's drafts are drafts that feature a very economic and modest amendment. Our arguments were also geared to bring out the logic, the unity, and, above all, the clarity of the law. The drafts have already been accepted by the Sejm commissions, and on 28 July they will be submitted for the plenary discussions of the Sejm.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ON ECONOMIC, SOCIAL TASKS

AU281140 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Jul 83 pp 1-2

[PAP report: "The Work Program Under Changed Political Conditions -- Session of the Council of Ministers"]

[Excerpt] The Government Press Bureau reports that at its 25 July session the Council of Ministers discussed the tasks and work program to be implemented under new political and legal conditions.

The session noted that the important decisions made by the Sejm at its sessions on 20 and 21 July and, above all, the abolition of martial law by the State Council, the important modifications to the Constitution, the amnesty, and the temporary legal regulations for the period of overcoming the crisis favor the further normalization of life, the extension of the platform for national accord, the strengthening of public law and order, the stimulation of productive work, and the continuation the process of reforms.

The positive development of the sociopolitical situation in line with the public's expectations is due to the consistent implementation of the policy of accord and struggle followed by the party and the socialist state. This policy will be continued with utmost resolution, which means that patient and persevering efforts will be made to gain the trust and support of all those who want to overcome the crisis rapidly, to fully normalize our life, to further improve Poland's international position, and to combat all social evils, dishonesty, and injustice. At the same time an uncompromising struggle will be waged against opponents of socialism. The abolition of martial law will not weaken the determination of the authorities in combating these opponents.

The new regulations of the Constitution of the PPR, which concern the workers class and ensure a permanent place in the political system of People's Poland for the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], are of particular significance for the practical activities of the government and administration.

Allied with the working peasants, the workers class is the main social base of the state authority. The true interests of the workers class and its view of social justice are and will remain a directive for government policy. The mechanisms of public life, which are being developed, should help implement these aspirations.

The session discussed a number of measures to promote this aim, including the forms of cooperation of state and economic administrative bodies with the developing trade union movement. Members of the Council of Ministers will maintain and expand their links with the work forces in enterprises, will report to them on the work done by the government, and will discuss draft decisions with them. The government and state administrative bodies will closely cooperate with PRON in solving many national and local problems.

In all their activities the government and state administrative bodies will take into consideration the role of young generation and its aspirations and the young people's right to develop their own communities. Their participation in public life will be based on the balance of rights, duties, and responsibilities. In this way young people participating in the political, social, and state life will train to take over in the future the responsibility for the fates of the country. The session analyzed the results of the Gdansk conference of the PZPR youth aktivs and mapped out the duties of administrative bodies in this connection.

Public law and order is the foundation of the implementation of production and social tasks. The abolition of martial law must not imply that the struggle against social ills, waste, bad management, and bad manners will in any way be weakened. While making efforts to fulfill the commitments connected with the amnesty, administative bodies and order-keeping forces should resolutely counter anything that violates the law and disturbs public order.

The government takes the view that efforts to improve the performance of administration is a crucial task under present conditions. Special attention will be focused in this connection on the need to observe the principles of the rule of law and justice. A cadre policy based on administrative employees will be consistently implemented. Administrative bodies will promote cooperation with scientific and technical communities.

The implementation of economic tasks, especially those that improve the supplies of industrial goods to the market, is of great importance for the development of the sociopolitical situation. That is why one of the top tasks for state and economic administration is to increase production, particularly in light industry, to cut back production costs, to increase productivity, and to strengthen the integration links with the CEMA countries.

The principles of the economic reform should be consistently implemented. At the same time, its mechanisms should be improved and modified. Administrative bodies must demonstrate the necessary keenness in implementing the national aims of the wage and employment system and in sorting out this system. Administrative measures should help stimulate the efforts of work forces and workers self-management bodies. The government expects that the new trade unions, which will have been created from scratch by the workers themselves, will help improve the effectiveness of economic management in enterprises and the living conditions of the work forces.

The anti-inflation and austerity programs are the crucial factor in overcoming the crisis. Their effectiveness should be increased. The sciences and technological progress should play a greater role in overcoming our difficulties.

Improving the supplies for the population is becoming the main worry of the government. The session agreed that the government's present efforts had helped improve the food supplies. Although meat supplies are adequate to meet the rationing requirements at present, difficulties in meat supplies may appear in the second half of the year because of the earlier reductions in stockbreeding. The Council of Ministers indicated the present possibilities for increasing meat supplies and for improving meat economy in the meat industry and trading organizations.

The supplies of milk and its products continue at a satisfactory level. The supply of products such as cream and cheeses meets the requirements and helps alleviate the results of meat shortages.

The abolition of the rationing of fats has produced further calm in the market, whose requirements in grain products are now being fully met. The necessary stocks of such products have been accumulated. The increased supplies of candy made it possible to abolish the rationing of candy as of 25 April. No shortage of cigarettes and alcohol has been noted, but the population is short of commodities such as coffee, pepper, and tea. This is due to our difficult payment situation.

The session noted that the yields of fruit and vegetables will be good and that it is important that these yields should be profitably used. One way to do this is to increase packaging materials for the fruit and vegetable industry. The necessary decisions were made in this connection.

The Council of Ministers also noted that production enterprises should organize -- in cooperation with trade unions -- the winter supplies of farm produce for work forces.

The supplies of industrial goods to the market differ from place to place. The implementation of the operational programs and of the government orders has made it possible to ensure the necessary supplies of some goods. Nevertheless, the market continues to be short of light industry products, electroengineering products, some chemical products, furniture, and construction materials. Paper and sanitary articles are also in short supply.

The Council of Minister adopted the resolution to ensure the conditions that favor the development of market production in 1983 and the following years. The resolution provides for improvements in the fiscal situation of the enterprises that produce for the market. The minister of finance will make the necessary changes in the principles of financing enterprises. The producers of market goods that make less profits will be allowed to increase their sinking funds, which will enable them to halt the process of decapitalizing of technical installations and to promote their gradual reconstruction. Additional concessions concerning contributions to the State Fund for Industrial Stimulation will also be made.

Efforts to stimulate small-scale production will be continued. The session gave instruction to speed up the work on the draft law on small-scale production, which in this way will obtain legal conditions for developing production, especially market production.

RAKOWSKI WARNS ACADEMICS, VIEWS DOMESTIC SCENE

PM011319 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 18 Jul 83 pp 1-2

[Report signed "(ZS)" on Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski 16 July Szczecin meeting with the region's academic community: "To Move Away From the 'Philosophy of Crisis'"]

[Excerpts] On current problems encountered by higher educational establishments, M. Rakowski stressed that these constitute the object of particular concern on the part of the party and government leadership. The situation in individual higher educational establishments is somewhat difficult owing mainly to the stand of some academic teachers who, as young people's instructors, send them into life muddle-headed and carrying views that they are unable to handle. The higher educational establishments act was intended to provide a platform for the autonomy and operational self-management of higher education, but certain individuals regarded it in effect as proof of the state's impotence and a convenient springboard from which to assume opposition stances.

"After the lifting of martial law," Rakowski continued, "a new psychological and political situation will arise." Perhaps some people will interpret it again as evidence of the authority's weakness and find it an encouragement to fight the political system. But there will be no lenient treatment for those professors and educators who might continue to wish to turn young people's heads and instruct them in how to fight socialism. The autonomy of a higher educational establishment, although safeguarded by the act, cannot be exploited in antistate moves."

In the next part of his speech M. Rakowski commented on individual problems raised in the course of the meeting, and then he made an assessment of the current socioeconomic situation in the country. He stated that the continuing normalization of the market -- particularly the food market -- counts as a significant achievement in the process of overcoming the crisis. This is the result of having gained control over the situation and of pursuing a clearly defined economic policy toward agriculture. Its outcome allows for a gradual phasing out of the ration card system, and by the end of this year the only products still under rationing will be meat and meat-based products. Sugar rationing could be stopped now except for the fear that people would then begin bulk-buying sugar for the production of alcohol.

The situation in industry is not so good, with a considerable proportion of production capacities remaining untapped. This is caused on the one hand by a lack of means for the purchase of raw and intermediate materials and, on the other, by manpower decreases in individual sectors of industry, this being connected, among other things, with many employees having chosen early retirement. In addition, over the past 3 years most sectors of industry have suffered from a significant fall in productivity.

The results of the economic reform, combined with a more advantageous sociopolitical climate, will facilitate our emergence from the crisis within the expected timescale, that is, by 1985. "It is, in any case, high time," M. Rakowski stressed, "to move away from the 'philosophy of crisis,' which is now frequently influencing the way people think and act."

Future of 'Realistic Thinking'

PM011338 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in POlish 19 Jul 83 p 1

[Interview with Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski by GLOS SZCZECINSKI correspondent Krzysztof Matlak on 16 Jul in Szczecin]

[Excerpts] Matlak: Representatives of our central authorities do not renounce the August agreements. On the contrary, not long ago General Wojciech Jaruzelski spoke in Gdansk's Olivia Hall on the importance of agreements with the working class. In all reflections on the agreements, the document signed in Gdansk is always given a prominent role. It would seem, however, that more note ought to be taken of the Szczecin agreement. Not only because it was signed a day earlier, but simply because it was more matter-of-fact and realistic. Would it not be worthwhile to turn our sights away from Gdansk and direct them toward Szczecin? It is not just local patriotism that makes me ask this question.

Rakowski: The essential thing is the realization that we are faithful to our agreements with the working class. This way of treating the whole subject indicates our assessment of the August movement. At that time Solidarity was yet to be born. At the first stage there was no political opposition in Szczecin.

The difference between the Gdansk and the Szczecin agreements lies in the fact that the one signed at the Warski shipyard grew more directly from the strike movement and was unencumbered by the influence of alien factors.

I think, therefore, that your observation is correct. There is no doubt whatsoever that the Szczecin agreement is the more realistic one. It was, and is, more relevant to the life and expectations of the workers. A not insignificant contribution here was made by Kazimierz Barcikowski, who at that time represented the government in Szczecin. I still vividly remember his comments after the signing of the agreement. He said, among other things, that he would want one day to return to Szczecin as an old man and be able to look those people in the eye who were co-creators of that agreement. These words made a great impact on me then.

And so, I repeat, your observation is valid. It would be worthwhile to devote more attention to the Szczecin agreement. But it would be necessary to consider it separately from Jurczyk and some other persons who subsequently went in a totally different direction.

Matlak: During our last conversation, in September 1981, you stated that realists had never been in the majority in Poland at any time. In your closing words you said the following: "Once we begin to talk about hard realism, about the need to observe the harsh rigors implied in that term, we must also admit the possibility of defeat, for such are the vagaries of the Polish nation's fate."

Rakowski: I will uphold my earlier view. Throughout Poland's history realists have won very few victories. But this does not mean that people who represent that particular stand ought not to try to win them. As to whether we are in fact going to win...

Matlak: There is a certain sadness reflected in your words.

Rakowski: No, this is not how I would like to be understood; I have profound faith in General Jaruzelski's honesty and in the whole team around him -- of which I am a member. But I am apprehensive about tradition being repeated in Poland, although, who knows? Perhaps the deep shock that Polish people have suffered in recent years under peace conditions will to a certain extent influence them and cause them to change their stand and their ingrained attitudes. Perhaps other factors, such as modernization or industrialization, will play a significant part here, too. The chances are that all this will increase the likelihood of the realists winning. But I still prefer to remain a moderate pessimist.

Matlak: How do you assess the current development of the situation in Poland?

Rakowski: The situation is becoming stabilized. Poland today is a different country from what it was a year ago. Millions of Poles deserve respect for having kept their common sense, as well as their patriotism. Respect is due to those who understand that it is not possible to speculate about Poland's future without having order, good organization, or good working habits. For it is not possible to remain a good patriot and at the same time have no regard for values that decide whether our country will maintain its proper place among other nations of the world. Whenever we now say that that situation is becoming more and more favorable, we must express our appreciation to millions of our fellow countrymen. Without their good sense the authorities could have done nothing. That is another of the circumstances that allow us to take a more optimistic view of the future of realistic thinking in our state.

PASSPORT OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON TRAVEL SITUATION

LD302124 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 30 Jul 83

[From "Music and Topics" program; interview with Colonel Zygmunt Szczepanski, chief administrative officer of the Passport Office of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, by Anna Andrzejewska; date and place not given]

[Text] [Andrzejewska] Colonel, martial law has been lifted. We are slowly returning to normal life. Please tell me: To what extent will we be able to travel freely abroad? I suggest that we begin our journey out into the world with the socialist countries.

[Szczepanski] As regards the socialist countries, not much has changed in relation to the period of martial law for the time being. Why? Because we will still be traveling on the basis of a passport. The situation is this: Before martial law we travelled on the basis of entries in our identity cards -- by the way, we issued almost 7 million of those entries -- and in the period of martial law, those entries were suspended by the special legal regulations which existed in that period. The matter simply requires agreements to be reached with our socialist partners. We are making efforts and [words indistinct] in order simply to return to that period, that is, to the possibility of going away on the basis of an entry in the identity card...

[Andrzejewska, interrupting] And now, how will we travel to the West? Everyone has a chance.

[Szczepanski] Everyone has a chance and I can say one thing, as a general principle: For the time being, we travel on the basis of an invitation. That means there is not yet the possibility of going away on the basis of money taken from a bank account. At one time, that money constituted the grounds for getting a passport. Today, it does not. These things are governed by the regulations recently approved by the Sejm, by special legal regulations.

[Andrzejewska] ...In the period of emergence from the crisis...

[Szczepanski, continuing] ...in the period of emergence from the crisis. In any case, at the moment, everyone can go to the West -- I repeat, everyone -- apart from those who, of course, have infringed some regulations, which does not permit departure. I will come back to that in a moment. In any case, we travel on the basis of an invitation. First, without any kind of age limit; second, without limits to the degree of relationship, that is to say, one can go away on an invitation from an acquaintance, a very distant relation, and so on, but, on the basis of an invitation obtained from the people whom we are visiting. In the meantime, the possibility still does not exist of going away on the basis of money that we possess in our own bank accounts.

[Andrzejewska] But we know we take from accounts more than 150 dollars.

[Szczepanski] A person who has already obtained a passport has the possibility, then, to take out of an account up to 400 dollars, I think. It is not the account that creates the possibility of travelling abroad, of getting a passport, but the obtaining of a passport allows the withdrawal of a specific sum.

[Andrzejewska] And in turn, we only get a passport if we have a genuine invitation.

[Szczepanski] That is so.

[Andrzejewska] From family or acquaintances.

[Szczepanski] From family or acquaintances.

[Andrezejewska] I suggest, Colonel, that we stop our interview here for the moment and we warmly invite listeners to tune in tomorrow, Sunday, to the program exactly at noon, when we will be continuing our conversation. I hope that we will get from you a whole gamut of very timely information.

[Szczepanski] I shall try, in any case.

More on Interview

LD311737 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 31 Jul 83

[Interview with Colonel Zygmunt Szczepanski, chief administrative officer of the Passport Office of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, by Anna Andrzejewska; date and place not given -- recorded]

[Text] [Andrzejewska] Ladies and gentlemen, yesterday in the "Music and Topics" program we heard Col Zygmunt Szczepanski, chief administrative officer at the Passport Office in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, who told us how we travel to socialist countries and to the West.

We recall that we continue to travel to socialist countries on the basis of a passport, not on the basis of an endorsement in the identity card, but the matter is being clarified. At any rate, the Polish Government is trying to regulate this matter. The major condition for travel to the West is not hard currency account but an invitation. Only on the basis of a passport we can make use of our hard currency account, at any rate to a limited extent. Well, we already know all this.

Colonel, how frequently can we travel to the West? Are there any restrictions? Can we travel freely? Every year, twice a year -- how frequently?

[Szczepanski] Well, this is a bit of a problem, particularly in these conditions, when possibilities for travel to the West -- and I am thinking here of group travel, because we have not yet said that group travel organized by our travel offices is broadly available, and if there are quantitative restrictions they will be in this sector -- the point is that a person who, well, has a certain sum of money -- because, as is known, at present excursions to Western countries and abroad, in general, are not cheap -- this travel should be available not only to those who simply have greater financial possibilities and, on account of this, can travel 5, 6, or 10 times a year, but also to those who have no such possibilities. [sentences as heard] As we know, the general availability of travel and the places that are assigned for foreign excursions is, after all, limited. Therefore, there may be certain restrictions regarding the number of journeys...

[Andrzejewska, interrupting] By the same person several times a year.

[Szczepanski] That's right -- within group excursions. Whereas there will be no such restrictions as far as visiting is concerned -- visiting family.

[Andrzejewska] That means I can visit family in the West several times a year?

[Szczepanski] Yes.

[Andrzejewska] We know that for various reasons some Poles have remained abroad. We will return to this matter. I would like to ask you whether there will be or is family responsibility. A member of the family has remained abroad. Will those who remain at home have difficulties with travelling? I am not talking about visiting that person, but in general.

[Szczepanski] This term, collective responsibility, has frequently been used in allegations addressed at the passport organs. I have always said and continue to say that we have not and do not apply collective responsibility. There is only the responsibility for defined breeches of passport regulations.

In instances where a member of the family has remained aborad -- well, the cases are reviewed, I would say, in a multicomprehensive way. It is not just the matter that somebody -- a brother, a sister, or somebody else -- has remained abroad. Of course, all this should be reviewed in a different context: What is this brother? What does he represent? What education does he have? What family has he left here? A whole complex of very complicated social and economic matters connected with national economy and so on. [sentence as heard] This may sometimes create appearances that, in general we say: No, if your brother has stayed abroad, we are not letting you out. It is not like that at all. I repeat, the matters are reviewed individually, and are reviewed multicomprehensively. The situation is that in some cases somebody who has a brother abroad gets the agreement and travels and in others he does not get the agreement.

I would say that there is a different problem, a much newer one. This is the problem not of those people who remained 5, 6, or 10 years ago, but...

[Andrzejewska, interrupting] But of those who have remained recently and now want to come back?

[Szczepanski, continuing] ... of those who went abroad before martial law and who have left their families -- children, wives, and so on -- here. About these persons, well, it is difficult to say that they have already remained abroad. Some of them, of course, have already declared themselves -- some have even applied for asylum -- and have decisively said no, they are not coming back home. But the great majority are people who we must first note are abroad with valid Polish passports issued in April. In April 1981 -- and we have also spoken about this on the radio -- we began to issue passports valid for 3 years, for all countries of the world. Please note that these passports are still valid until April 1984. If somebody got one later, they will be valid even longer -- until the middle or even the end of 1984. So these persons are still abroad legally, with valid Polish passports.

[Andrzejewska] Certainly legally, Colonel?

[Szczepanski] Yes. We have said many times that these persons may return home at any time. The only possibility that creates grounds for criminal responsibility can only be and is exclusively activity to the detriment of the interests of the Polish People's Republic. There is no other. That is, there is no criminal responsibility for the fact of remaining, extending one's stay.

I'll say more: A great number of people have already returned home. The first wave occurred at the time of suspension of martial law. Now we are noting that the number of people returning has greatly increased. But this is not what matters. What also matters is those who, shall we say, intend to remain abroad, or have already declared that they will remain there. I would like to say that we are already letting the wives and children out. We do not want to break up those marriages.

[Andrzejewska] What will travel for young people look like? Those who have so-called obligations to the country. I am thinking of graduates, of grant recipients.

[Szczepanski] Well, the matter is probably not finally clarified because an act of repayment by persons who have completed studies and intend to go abroad is being prepared. There is a sort of suspended state, I would say...

[Andrzejewska, interrupting] [words indistinct] young people who left used to pay. Does that mean that there will simply be greater repayments? Because there have already been repayments.

[Szczepanski] Well, this existed in cases of leaving permanently. Not all areas of study were subject to repayments or deposits. For example, philological studies were not included in this. Most frequently there were repayments for technical studies [words indistinct]

[Andrzejewska] And now there will be repayment for all kinds of studies?

[Szczepanski] That is difficult to say, because -- as I have said -- there is this sort of suspended state because old regulations are not being enforced and new ones have not yet been introduced.

[Andrzejewska] Colonel, the validity of passports: Are we going to get passports for keeps -- kept at home and taken out at the appropriate moment? Or will they have to be returned immediately or return?

[Szczepanski] We have not yet reached the time when we can keep our passports in our pockets. It seems to me that it is an important thing that we had to return them to the state even prior to 13 December 1981, that is, that there there were already such broad possibilities for travel abroad to capitalist countries.

Well, at present we are going to issue passports valid for 2 years, for multiple journeys, but they will have to be returned from abroad.

[Andrzejewska] How much will the passport cost now?

[Szczepanski] Well, here I have to pleasantly disappoint you. We have not raised prices: the passport -- the passport itself -- costs Z100 as before....

[Andrzejewska, interrupting] But these pluses. The pluses?

[Szczepanski] Well, these pluses: Plus, of course, Z2000, as it was before 13 December, bearing in mind that, of course, there are significant reductions. There is a Z1000 reduction for pensioners and a Z600 reduction for students during holidays. So the charges do not change.

[Andrzejewska] One more matter: Visas. Where are they needed and where are they not? Because this is also connected with fees.

[Szczepanski] In general, I can say that visas are obligatory for all capitalist countries.

CC PERSONNEL DEPARTMENT CHIEF ON NEW DOCUMENTS

LD011649 Warsaw PAP in English 1431 GMT 1 Aug 83

[Text] Warsaw 1 Aug -- In an interview for KRAJOWA AGENCJA ROBOTNICZA (NATIONAL WORKERS' AGENCY), head of the PUWP CC Personnel Department, General Tadeusz Dziekan disclosed that the PUWP Political Bureau would submit to the party's Central Committee a draft document entitled "Main Assumptions of the PUWP Personnel Policy". The document has been prepared by a team of practitioners and theoreticians set up at the PUWP CC Personnel Department. The document will be a basis for a uniform system of personnel policy in the PUWP, the state and economic administration. In a separate document will spell out the rights and duties of full-time party employees and the procedure in appointing people to managerial posts.

"The main idea underlying the two documents is to impart to the personnel policy an appropriate rank in state and party activities. The documents envisage uniform criteria for the selection and evalution of personnel at every level and the principles of putting this policy into practice.

"The documents attach great importance to the class character of personnel policy, to openness, collective actions, socialist rule of law, enlarging responsibility and requirements for the managerial staff, its improvement, and to the principle of personnel to use them in the best possible way."

"All the documents recommend that non-party people should be appointed to managerial posts on a wider scale. The documents also suggest that young people should be more often appointed to managerial posts, as their fresh viewpoint, energy and dynamic activity ensure progress in the field entrusted to them.

"Each of these principles has its own significance. The fact that they will be submitted to the PUWP CC for discussion shows the importance attached by the party to the proper personnel policy and its real implementation."

General Dziekan reminded that the practice of the '70's often swerved from the proper principles of staff policy. Since the 9th PUWP Congress, held in 1981, a total of 350 personnel changes have taken place within the Central Committee, whereas the number of changes among the employees of other PUWP Committees since September 1980 has reached 6,000, according to Gen Dziekan.

The review of personnel in February 1982 resulted in 440 changes of central managerial posts in ministries, central offices, scientific, educational and press institutions. Also, 650 directors of major enterprises were dismissed, and so were 200 presidents and heads of basic links of state administration.

SIWAK VISITS WALBRZYCH AREA; ADDRESSES WORKERS

AU281132 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Jul 83 p 2

[PAP report: "A Discussion on Political and Economic Matters -- A Meeting in Wroclaw"]

[Summary] On 25 July Albin Siwak, Politburo member of the PZPR Central Committee, visited the Kopernik shaft site in the Walbrzych area and met "party, self-government body, trade union, and youth aktivs from the Victoria coal mine." He spoke "on the shortcomings and irregularities that occur in the patriotic and civil education of our young people."

EGYPTIAN PRIME MINISTER CONCLUDES VISIT

Talks With Ceausescu

AU011544 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1410 GMT 1 Aug 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 1/8/1983 -- The official talks between Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of Romania, and Dr. Fu'ad Muhyi ad-Din, prime minister of Egypt, concluded on August 1.

Conducted in an atmosphere of cordiality, mutual esteem and regard, the talks emphasized Romania's and Egypt's wish to intensify and diversify further the economic, industrial and technological cooperation upon stable and lasting bases, to amplify the trade exchanges, in the spirit of the decisions and understandings reached by Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Muhammad Husni Mubarak.

The two parties' satisfaction was expressed at the fruitful results of the visit and the Romanian and Egyptian Governments' determination was reiterated, to translate into life the soonest the measures taken, meant to serve the two countries and peoples' mutual interests, the cause of international peace and collaboration.

A joint communique was endorsed at the end of the talks.

The two heads of government signed a memorandum on the promotion of economic and technological cooperation and on increasing the commercial exchanges between the two countries. An aide-memoire was also signed between the Romanian radiotelevision and the Egyptian radiotelevision.

Leaves Bucharest 1 Aug

AU011525 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1420 GMT 1 Aug 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 1/8/1983 -- Dr. Fu'ad Muhyi ad-Din, prime minister of the Arab Republic of Egypt, concluded on August 1 his official visit paid to Romania at the invitation of Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu. The Egyptian premier and the other officials who accompanied him on this visit were seen off at the Otopeni Airport by Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu, by Ludovic Fazekas and Gheorghe Petrescu, deputy prime ministers, by ministers and other Romanian officials.

CEAUSESCU GREETS MUBARAK ON EGYPT'S NATIONAL DAY

AU271420 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Jul 83 p 6

[Text] To His Excellency Mr Muhammad Husni Mubarak, president of the Arab Republic of Egypt, Cairo:

On the national day of the Arab Republic of Egypt, I have the great pleasure of extending to you most heartfelt congratulations as well as best wishes for personal health and happiness and for the friendly Egyptian people's well-being, on my own behalf and on behalf of the Romanian people.

Recalling with much pleasure our fruitful talks together, I express the conviction that, by acting in the spirit of agreements jointly reached, the relations between our countries and peoples will continue to develop in political, economic, cultural, and other fields.

I believe that the positive evolution of Romanian-Egyptian relations as well as the cooperation between our countries at the international level are in accordance with the interests of our peoples and of the policy of peace, understanding, security, and cooperation in the Middle East and throughout the world.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

BUCHAREST MEETING MARKS RUSSIAN PARTY CREATION

AU291939 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1839 GMT 29 Jul 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 29/7/1983 -- A festive meeting was held in Bucharest on July 29 to mark the anniversary of 80 years since the Second Congress of the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Russia that laid the foundations of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Seated in the presidium were Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Miu Dobrescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Petru Enache, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Olimpia Solomonescu, alternate member of the CC of the RCP, deputy head of section at the CC of the RCP, Constantin Oancea, deputy minister of foreign affairs, Nicolae Cioroiu, director of the Museum of History of the Communist Party, of the Revolutionary and Democratic Movement of Romania.

Held under the auspices of the Bucharest Municipal Committee of the RCP, the meeting gathered party and state activists, scientific researchers, and working people of Romania's capital.

Present were members of the Embassy of the Soviet Union.

In his address on the occasion, Ion Popescu-Puturi, member of the CC of the RCP, director of the Institute of Historical and Sociopolitical Studies under the CC of the RCP, pointed to the significance of the emergence on Russia's political stage of the party of the working class in the historical conditions generated by the evolution of the working class and democratic movement in that country at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

Showing next that in the years of socialism the Romanian-Soviet relations witnessed steady development underlain by such fundamental factors as the community of socialist order, identity of goals and aspirations, mutual esteem and regard, the speaker stressed that the meetings and talks between the RCP and the CPSU leaders played a decisive role in the deepening and amplification of the Romanian-Soviet relations, which have opened each time broad horizons to the relations of friendship, collaboration and solidarity between the two parties and states, enriching and conferring new valences on those relations, and identifying new domains of productive cooperation. Falling within this context is also the interview of December 1982 between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

E.M. Tyazhelnikov, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Romania, also addressed the audience.

RCP Message to CPSU

AU011036 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Jul 83 p 5

[Text] To the CPSU Central Committee,

Dear comrades, on the 80th anniversary of the Second Congress of the Social-Democratic Workers Party of Russia, we extend comradely greetings and warmest congratulations to the CPSU Central Committee and all USSR Communists and working people, on behalf of all Romanian Communists and people.

The emergence, 80 years ago, of the workers class party on the political scene of Russia -- a party molded on the principles laid down by Vladimir Ilich Lenin -- marked a turning point in the history of the revolutionary and progressive movement of Russia and in the struggle to overcome the Tsarist autocracy and carry out the socialist revolution. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the working masses of Russia carried out the 1917 Great October Socialist Revolution, which thoroughly shook the old system and inaugurated the era of proletarian revolutions, and of mankind's transition to socialism.

In its 80 years of existence, the CPSU asserted itself as the vanguard detachment of the workers class, successfully leading the Soviet peoples along the road of socialist and communist construction. The party played an important role in organizing the heroic resistance to invasion by Hitlerite Germany and in the victory won by the Soviet peoples over Nazism.

As a result of the working people's diligence, the Soviet Union is today a powerful socialist state with outstanding results in developing the industry, agriculture, science, technology, culture, and education and raising the material and intellectual living standard of the masses. All Communists and working people in our country sincerely rejoice in all these successes and consider them as an important contribution to strengthening the force and prestige of socialism throughout the world.

We appreciate the very important role played by the Soviet Union in resolving key problems of our times, as well as the Soviet proposals and initiatives to halt the arms race, reduce nuclear armaments, and achieve disarmament. In view of the particularly serious international situation, we believe that everything possible should be done to halt the dangerous trend toward a nuclear catastrophe and prevent the deployment and development of new nuclear missiles and arms systems, in order to secure the supreme right of peoples to peace, existence, life, and free and independent development.

We note with satisfaction the ever upward course of traditional relations of friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the RCP and CPSU, and between Romania and the Soviet Union, relations which are based on principles of equality, mutual esteem and respect, and international solidarity. We express the conviction that these relations will continue to develop in the future, on the bases of understandings reached during meetings and talks between our party leaders, to the benefit of the Romanian and Soviet peoples and in the interest of the general cause of socialism and peace. We also believe that the further development of active cooperation between Romania and the Soviet Union at the international level -- cooperation aimed at eliminating the danger of war and attaining disarmament, primarily nuclear -- serves the basic interests of all peoples to live in peace, understanding, and security.

On this glorious jubilee, we extend wishes for new and ever greater successes, to all USSR communists and working people in implementing the 26th CPSU Congress decisions and in the struggle for the triumph of peace and cooperation throughout the world.

DASCALESCU RECEIVES DEPARTING POLISH AMBASSADOR

AU280928 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Jul 83 p 5

[Text] On 26 July Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received Boleslav Koperski, ambassador of the People's Republic of Poland to Bucharest, on a farewell call at the end of his mission to our country. A cordial talk ensued on the occasion.

TRADE UNION PLENUM DISCUSSES ACTIVITIES

AU291931 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1842 GMT 29 Jul 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 29/7/1983 -- The activity carried out by the trade unions for the fulfilment of the plan for the first semester of this year and the tasks they have in applying the principles of worker self-management and financial self-administration, improving the economic-financial mechanism and the remuneration system, in strengthening order and discipline -- tasks devolving on them from the documents of the plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP of June this year -- were analysed by the Central Council of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions [GURTU] during its plenary meeting of July 29. A resolution was unanimously adopted related to these issues.

The plenary meeting also debated a report on the concerns of the trade union bodies and organizations and of the working people's councils for improving the working conditions of the working personnel, preventing occupational diseases and accidents, just as a programme regarding the selection, training and promotion of women to responsible offices within trade union bodies at all the levels of the GURTU structure.

At the end of the proceedings the participants sent a telegram to RCP General Secretary and President of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu.

EGYPTIAN DEFENSE MINISTER LEAVES FOR HOME 1 AUG

LD012227 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2052 GMT 1 Aug 83

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Aug (TANJUG) -- Field Marshal Muhammad 'Abd al-Halim Abu Ghazalah, deputy prime minister, defense minister, and commander of the Armed Forces of the Arab Republic of Egypt, who is paying an official visit to our country and our armed forces at the head of an Egyptian military delegation, left Belgrade this evening.

While in our country, the high-ranking guest from friendly and nonaligned Egypt had talks with his host, Admiral Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense. The Egyptian minister visited some units and institutions of the Yugoslav People's Army and was received by Sergej Kraigher, member of the SFRY Presidency.

The formal send-off of Field Marshal Abu Ghazalah and members of the delegation at Belgrade airport in Surcin was attended by Colonel General Dane Petkovski, deputy federal secretary for national defense, Lieutenant Colonel General Slobodan Alagic, commander of the Air Force and Air Defense; Rear Admiral Zvonomir Kostic; Major General Simo Papic; and other officers of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. 'Abd al-Razzaq, ambassador of the Arab Republic of Egypt in our country; and Brigade General Taha Yusuf, the army, air force, and naval attache, were also at the send-off ceremony.

SPILJAK SENDS GREETINGS TO EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT

AU271424 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23/24 Jul 83 p 7

[Text] Belgrade -- On the occasion of the Egyptian national holiday, Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY presidency, has sent a telegram on behalf of the SFRY Presidency to Husni Mubarak, president of the Arab Republic of Egypt, with cordial greetings and best wishes for the prosperity of the friendly Egyptian people. Among other things, the telegram stresses the belief in the further successful development of Yugoslav-Egyptian relations and cooperation between the two nonaligned countries, to which the recent visit of the Egyptian president to Yugoslavia provided a significant stimulus.

FURTHER MATERIALS ON VISIT BY YASIR 'ARAFAT

Spiljak Toast at Dinner

LD272046 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1441 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Text] Belgrade 27 Jul (TANJUG) -- "Today, when the just struggle of the Palestinian people is faced with many difficult tests, we appreciate even more your visit to Yugoslavia. For us, this represents another confirmation that over many years of friendship and cooperation we have jointly created a heritage that is worthy of mutual trust," Mika Spiljak, president of the Presidency, declared in his toast.

"I am also anxious to reiterate our deep conviction that without full and consistent implementation of these rights there can be no lasting and just peace and stability throughout the Middle East. This is why the entire international community and especially those who bear the greatest responsibility for the situation in this seething part of the world must exert real and effective pressure to put an end to the Israeli policy of aggression and expansionism.

"The nonaligned countries have always emphasized that due to the convergence of the strategic interests of the great powers in this area the Middle East represents a most dangerous threat to security and peace in the world. We have always most sharply denounced Israel's policy, which arrogantly ignores the stances of the widest international community. However, Israel continues to do everything to keep the occupied Arab territories. Its aggression against independent and nonaligned Lebanon and the attempt to liquidate the authentic revolution of the Palestinian people represent a heavy blow to the efforts to find a comprehensive and just and thus a lasting solution of the Middle East crisis. In New Delhi, the nonaligned once again extended powerful support to the Palestinian cause and advocated the solution of the crisis in keeping with the principles that guide our movement and that are overwhelmingly accepted in the international community.

"We share your concern about the recent events because we are deeply convinced that the absence of unity among the Arab countries and the interference by foreign factors weakens and reduces the front of struggle for a lasting and comprehensive solution of the Middle East crisis, for the just Palestinian cause.

"This is not the first time that Palestine Liberation Organization has faced difficulties. We know that your leadership has always successfully managed to overcome them by means of democratic dialogue. This and the independent decisions on the directions of its struggle have time and again strengthened the reputation of your movement on the international plane. We are fully confident that your efforts will fully overcome the problems that you face today also, when unity is necessary more than ever. This is the vital interest of the Palestinian people and its further struggle, as well as the aspiration which must have undivided support by all countries and peoples devoted to freedom, independence, progress, and peace. Yugoslavia will continue to work in a comprehensive and active manner on the international plane -- within the framework of the movement of the nonaligned countries and the United Nations, as well as in its bilateral relations with other states -- in favor of the inalienable and legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine," Mika Spiljak said in his toast.

'Arafat Reply

LD272235 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2115 GMT 27 Jul 83

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Jul (TANJUG) -- "It gives me pleasure to be able, on behalf of the Palestinian people, the PLO Executive Committee and the members of the delegation, to express the feelings of love and respect we have for your people. We value your principled attitudes reflected in the support you are extending to the just struggle of our people, the victory of our cause and the cause of the whole Arab nation. I note with pride the development of the historic relations between the Palestinian people and your people, relations the foundations of which were laid by the great man, Josip Broz Tito. Waging our national struggle in all areas and at all levels, we are inspired by your heroic struggle against the Nazis and the fascists."

This was stated today by Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee in his reply to President Mika Spiljak's toast. 'Arafat added:

"You are undoubtedly following the difficult and severe circumstances that our Palestinian Arab people are experiencing inside and outside the occupied territory, where they are being assailed by the imperialist, Zionist and fascist forces that are continuing their loathsome and immoral terror.

The most convincing example of these grave terrorist actions of our time are the massacres in Sabra and Shatila, our camps in Lebanon, as well as the massacre that took place in the occupied Palestinian town of Hebron yesterday, to which one should add the day-to-day torture to which our people are exposed as a result of the organized policy of oppression practiced by the Zionist-racists in desperate attempts to deal a blow to the spirit of the revolution and struggle, denying the human and national rights of the Palestinian people.

"This policy of oppression and terror, however, has not prevented our heroic Palestinian people from continuing its persistent struggle and resistance, for the implementation of its right to return, to self-determination, and to establishment of an independent state on its national soil, with the capital in Jerusalem."

In his toast, 'Arafat emphasized the impressive uprising and rebellion and the deep link between the Palestinian people and its revolution, as well as the consistent loyalty to the PLO as the sole representative of the people and leader of their national liberation struggle.

"You, too, undoubtedly follow the course of the great events in our region. At the center of these events are Palestine and Lebanon, where the Zionist-American plot aims at imposing division. The danger of this plot also threatens other parts of our Arab homeland.

"I have already drawn attention, 'Arafat continued, to the danger of these trends, especially on the occasion of the Israeli invasion of the Lebanon and during the heroic battle won by the Lebanese and Palestinian people while opposing the Zionist aggression in which the most modern American weapons were used. We are struggling by all means against this plot, together with our allies in the Lebanese progressive front. At the same time, we call on all peaceloving forces to firmly resist this plot in order to save Lebanon from the danger that threatens it and that we are facing under the conditions of Zionist occupation and the imposition of the Israeli-American conditions.

"Despite the difficult conditions through which our struggle is passing in the Near East, including the problems we face in the Al-Biqa' Valley in northern Lebanon, the Palestinian people and revolution do not feel that they stand alone in the battlefield. Together with you we are struggling effectively within the framework of the nonaligned movement, in which Yugoslavia occupies an important place. We feel the significance of the broad international support our just cause is receiving and on which our just liberation struggle relies.

"This support is constantly expressed by the nonaligned movement, the African, Islamic and socialist grouping of countries. This encourages us still further to continue our militant vanguard role in opposing imperialism and Zionism and for the realization of our inalienable national rights. I should like to express gratitude once more on my own behalf and on behalf of the members of the delegation for the hospitality that again proves Yugoslavia's principled and firm attitudes regarding our people, its inalienable national fights and the PLO, which represents and leads them in their national struggle," Yasir 'Arafat said in conclusion.

Additional Coverage

For additional coverage of the visit to Bulgaria of PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat, see the Inter-Arab Affairs section of the Middle East and Africa DAILY REPORT for 27-29 July.

SUNDIC ON FRG CALL FOR REAGAN-ANDROPOV MEETING

AU011545 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 Aug 83

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG foreign minister, in a statement to Radio Luxembourg today, advocated a summit meeting between U.S. President Reagan and Soviet head of state Andropov as soon as possible. What does this new FRG initiative mean? Here is a commentary by Milika Sundic:

A few days ago, the Bonn government refuted rumors that differences exist between the FRG and the United States in positions on many problems, especially as regards the installation of the Pershing and Cruise missiles in West Europe. It was said in that denial that the relations between the two countries have never been so good and that they will remain so.

Tales about alleged differences between Bonn and Washington appeared during and after Chancellor Kohl's visit to Moscow, as well as after Genscher's visit to Washington, where the FRG foreign minister informed President Reagan about the outcome of the Kohl-Andropov dialogue.

There is no doubt that certain differences in the assessments of current international problems and ways for resolving them exist in the relations between the United States and the FRG. However, it is quite certain that these differences are not so great that one could talk about some major disagreements between the two countries. In this respect, one cannot reproach the FRG Government's denial made a few days ago.

The FRG, let us recall, agrees with the NATO decision -- and all the obligations arising from it -- that U.S. Pershing and Cruise missiles be installed in West Europe, unless an agreement is reached by the end of the year between the USSR and the United States on Euromissiles. However, the Bonn government does not fully share the position of the United States that success at the Geneva negotiations on Euromissiles depends exclusively on the Soviet Union. What is more, Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher believe that a way out of the missile crisis can still be found in Geneva through mutual efforts and concessions, and that in this way the implementation of the adopted decision on the installation of U.S. medium-range missiles in West Europe may be avoided.

The latest initiative by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG foreign minister, which directly concerns Soviet-American relations, indicates how much the Bonn government is interested in a Soviet-American agreement in Geneva and in a relaxation of tension in relations between the two superpowers in general. Genscher advocated the earliest possible meeting between Reagan and Andropov, in any case before the deadline for installation of the Pershing and Cruise missiles in West Europe expires. Genscher's statement only confirms that the FRG Government continues to believe that an agreement in Geneva is possible if the leaders of the two superpowers agree to meet as soon as possible.

The question arises, however, whether this latest Bonn initiative has been coordinated with the Washington government. In our assessment, one would rather say it has, for it is a problem that does not concern the two superpowers alone, but also the international community in general. After all, there is no longer any secret that Washington, too, is thinking about a Reagan-Andropov meeting, perhaps even more than Moscow.

The role of the FRG in this respect is considerable, for it is a key American ally in West Europe and an important trading partner of the Soviet Union.

Genscher's initiative certainly is also connected with the Soviet-American agreement on purchases of U.S. grain. It is believed in the world that the Soviet-American agreement has not only economic but also political significance, and that the two superpowers in their mutual relations will not stop at it.

PLANINC DELIVERS JOINT ASSEMBLY SESSION REPORT

LD281424 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0428 GMT 28 Jul 83

["Milka Planinc report at session of Federal Chamber and Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly on 28 July" -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Jul (TANJUG) -- A fundamental and broad debate was held recently by the SAWPY Federal Conference, the LCY Central Committee, the Trade Union Federation of Yugoslavia, the Chamber of Economy of Yugoslavia and other organs and organizations of the federation, republics and provinces in connection with the conclusion of the work on the long-term economic stabilization program. The "final part" of this program, which, together with the "starting foundations," contains the essence, the ideopolitical direction of the entire program, has received unanimous and broad support, and represents the basis for the planning of work and activity of all social subjects. It was unanimously accepted that the long-term economic stabilization program can be implemented only with the broadest mobilization and activity of all working people, all subjective factors of society, led by the LC and that what is needed for success is well-elaborated, organized and sychronized social action.

The SFRY Assembly and the Federal Executive Council [FEC] have been working on these problems continuously. In addition to the most direct active participation in the work of the Federal Social Councils Commission to formulate the long-term program, the Assembly, a year ago, debated and adopted the "starting foundations," while the entire work and decisions on the development and the economic policy in 1983 are founded, to the most realistic possible extent, on the attitudes and documents of the stabilization program.

Parallel to the formulation of the "final part," the FEC has prepared a plan for implementing the stabilization program and has submitted it to the Assembly for debate. In this way, we have tried to avoid losing precious time in planning the work concerning the debate and putting forward the views on the final document and on the agreement on the plan and the tasks in implementing the stabilization program. Debates on the "implementation plan" in the SFRY Assembly will help the FEC to complement and adopt the plan. Of course, not as an isolated and definitive plan, because the long-term economic stabilization program, its implementation and the realities that we will face in this context in practice, will make it imperative for us to continuously complement and adapt the implementation plan.

I do not believe it is necessary to explain, either to you, comrade delegates, or to the public -- on account of everything that has been discussed and published regarding the stabilization program -- its essence, goals and ranges. I will only stress that which is fundamental for our approach as a whole to stabilization.

First, it is clear that we are talking here about an integral program that demands profound change in all areas of social life, with a view to resolving the economic crisis in a manner in which our socialist self-management society realizes a higher phase of development in terms of material and social relations.

Thus, it is not a matter of "surviving somehow in oder to return to where we were," but a matter of implementing, through intensified efforts by our entire society, those qualitative changes by which we, as regards material development, are surmounting the path from the extensive method of economic activity to modern, highly productive and efficient production and social work as a whole. With regard to social relations, we must overcome the state of stagnation and restriction of self-management, and realize changes in real relations in the spirit of the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, that is, a prevalence in the relations of social forces in favor of the decisive role of the working class in social reproduction as a whole. Both of these elements are dependent and contingent upon the other; they represent a simultaneous and unified process.

The considerably greater involvement of Yugoslavia in the international division of labor is a necessity without which not even internal progress is possible. Here, too, the stabilization program is clear. No matter how difficult the circumstances surrounding our relations with foreign countries, particularly those regarding the convertible area, we cannot find a way out of this state by saying "return what we have borrowed in the past and, like a child who has carelessly burned itself, lock ourselves up in our safe little house." Regardless of the fact that this is not possible, it should also be clear that our conscious orientation is that Yugoslavia, in keeping with its political involvement and openness, will develop its economic relations with the world much more broadly and strongly than up till now and endeavor to balance them. We must do this in order to encourage our own speedier progress and, on account of our obligations and readiness to fight for our place in the international division of labor, to participate actively in the struggle for the construction of more progressive and more equitable relations in the international community.

It goes without saying that such a comprehensive, far-reaching and stratified program can only be implemented in stages, but it is necessary from the very beginning, for all the activities being directed toward these long-term goals. The practical concrete acts through which we must find answers to the many difficult topical questions concerning our economy -- be that in the federation, republic or autonomous province, the municipality, or the work organization -- must build a bridge toward these more long-term goals. The unity and support in principle for the long-term stabilization program that have been expressed over the last few days at many gatherings in the country will now, and in the long-term, be tested on trial, particularly when its implementation affects acquired positions, which, from the material point of view, are untenable. It will be only in its practical implementation that who stands where will be demonstrated; how much real readiness for new ventures there is behind the declaration of support, how much real readiness to intensify one's own forces and opportunities, readiness also to make necessary self-denials; and how much this program is being accepted only as a model for the behavior of others without any readiness to change anything regarding oneself.

It is a fact that knowledge about the state of our economy is today more complete than at the time when the stabilization program was being formulated. It is also known that this knowledge has made the picture of the situation much graver and much more critical. However, this does not in any way change the assessment of the causes that have led to this situation, nor does it call into question the established directions for resolving it.

The deep structural changes stem from the need for development, and they would have been necessary even if we did not face such a difficult and acute situation. It is certain, however, that the present situation imposes the need to make the program a radical one, to shorten and not lengthen the periods of time in which we must make major and crucial moves in order that we might implement the changes indicated by the stabilization program.

The situation from which we are starting on the broadest social activity has been assessed in the stabilization program and is being continually assessed and updated in this House. By proceeding from the goals of the stabilization program and from the assessment of the actual situation, we must ascertain the sequence and the priorities of this long-term program.

It is incontestable that the solving of production problems in the broadest sense of the word is before us. We must create the conditions for production to break away from stagnation and, through its potentials, win a suitable place in the international division of labor and (? satisfy) the country's need to promote and balance its relations with the world. In the plan for realizing the stabilization program, particularly this year and next, the focus and concentration of our asks is and will be on this question. The subjects: economic relations with other countries, the internal liquidity of the economy and banks, management of social resources, disposal and distribution of income, the market and prices, employment, social activities, the tax system, the social policy, the budgetary expenditure and others, represent, in condensed form, the immense and mutually linked work facing us.

From the plan for realization of the stabilization program it is clear that the answers will have to be found to all important questions by as early as this year or in the coming year because the state of material and social relations so dictates. However, this does not mean that we can immediately resolve all problems, but only that there can be no postponement, that, on the basis of that which has been agreed on in the long-term stabilization program, we must find solutions for the urgent problems that life itself imposes. At the same time, as you can see from the plan, the FEC will, with the aid and cooperation of its commission for the Implementation of the Stabilization Program, organize -- specifically, starting in September -- the necessary specialized and social bodies for the concrete and practical elaboration of all long-term strategic development and systemic problems. It is particularly significant that the work concerned with resolving the current problems and the work concerned with the problems of the long-term strategy of development is synchronized with all organs and organizations in the Federation and with all social action in the country. In order to succeed in this, the SFRY Assembly and the EEC must surmount all of these immense problems and those strategic crucial links in them that cannot be ignored in resolving all other issues. The priorities in the sense of strategic significance and sequence will not always tally, but if we bear in mind the entirety, then that which is urgent or most urgent regarding the sequence must not, by its solutions, come into conflict with that which has priority, or is crucial, or strategic.

The foundations of the strategy and policy of the country's long-term development, the anti-inflation program, with all its relevant documents, along with the fundamental orientations contained in the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor on the basic subjects of the country's further development, along with everything that has been said about this in the "starting foundations" and in the "final part," as well as in the document entitled "Adaptation of the Economic System," most certainly represent the basic backbone and orientation for all future work.

With regard to all these issues, we must organize our work in a way that will yield practical answers as to what and how, without postponement, and in a way in which all social subjects, which represent in our system the exponents of implementation and responsibility for the decisions and consequences of such decisions, will participate. This work will, however, certainly last the whole of next year. Its solution by the subjects participating will give a solid and real basis for determining the country's medium- and long-term development plan.

1. One of these major, but also urgent, issues are the problems in the sector of expanded reproduction in their full complexity, whether it be a question of directing development, of social subjects which play a decisive role in this, or be it a question of large material disproportions that exist in this sector. There is no doubt that in addition to our work on the long-term development program and reform ventures, which we have to carry out in this respect in social relations, fully concrete practical work awaits us this year and next. As you know, in this sphere, powers too are confused. The system itself and general conditions are within the jurisdiction of the federation. More detailed conditions and the particularly significant influence on concrete decisions are within the jurisdiction of the republics and autonomous provinces, and even municipalities, while resources are, for the time being, still chiefly in banks and partly in organizations of associated labor.

We must come to grips with the job of completing the system in accordance with the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, but not merely through laws (because the law on expanded reproduction and past labor comes into force on 1 January 1984), but also with all mechanisms, so that we implement the so frequently repeated orientation whereby "the workers control the whole of social reproduction." But, in line with this orientation, we must also find the answers to our practical situation. It is known that investments, by their share in the social product, burden current production too much and that this situation has been changing, though still far too slowly, in 1982 and 1983. It is known that most exponents of the decisions and resources in financing expanded reproduction (banks and sociopolitical communities), by the logic of their interests and their own understanding of development, have haphazardly established an inadequate structure of production. It is precisely for this reason that these subjects are incapable of being the bearers of the establishment of a new production structure. Thus, there is no intensive method of economic activity and development, no training of the economy for stabilization of the domestic economy and for expansion of exports should changes not be made as regards the subjects, the exponents of development, or, also, in connection with urgent measures regarding investments that are in progress and in connection with future investments.

2. A change in the exponents of decisions and resources for the financing of expanded reproduction represents the necessary conditions for the trends and processes and associating, starting off in the direction of the natural interests and ties of producers based on reproduction and income relations on the unified Yugoslav market. In order that we might succeed in this, we must, with all the measures of the system and economic policy, proceed into a situation in which economic subjects are exposed directly to the effects of objective economic laws, conditions of external and domestic markets, by the equal, equitable, and unified general conditions of business activities. This means that with the implementation of stabilization in an expert and comprehensive manner throughout the entire system, we must give an entirely specific answer to the question on how to free production and social relations in it from excessively accumulated constraints or from the protection of state interventionism by a municipality, the republic, province, or the federation; how to reduce the role of sociopolitical communities in social reproduction to their constitutional frameworks?

This we must do -- not to push production and producers into the haphazardness of the market, but to free forces that are at present dormant and hidden in the motivation and interest of workers and producers. In their narrower and broader interest these forces direct the development of more efficient production. We must do this in order to produce more and better. We must understand that this cannot be implemented if these forces do not join together in the course of joint production, joint receipts and income, and jointly organizing the market and efforts to overcome its negative haphazard activity and if that association revolves around production, exports, and income, and not around "personal" power in the municipality, republic, province, or federation.

Of course, well thought-out activity by the subjective factor is necessary to speed processes of association in line with the Constitution and the Law of Associated Labor. The practice of persistently proving that we can survive over the years and the subjective factors' endeavors remain mere empty phrases if at the same time material relations make it possible for -- or even direct -- producers to seek and find solutions for their problems elsewhere.

We must realize that there will be great resistance to our orientation towards denationalizing the economy and removing state intervention into self-management relations. Naturally, this resistance will come from those cadres who are in authority and near authority and are not willing to give up their positions. However, to be quite clear: There will also be a great uproar and resistance in many work organizations, especially those reared on state care and in the state nursery, influential places in the banks, and so on -- those organizations that caused the downfall of all objective criteria for investment and production effectiveness and that, as a result, achieved a monopoly and failed to show any interest in associating.

Of course, most of the work collectives -- the capable and potentially capable ones -- will be given the chance to start working, both in their own interests and those of society, so that they will be strengthened by their association and their links with other producers in Yugoslavia -- science, education, and others without which successful qualitative progress of production and work in general cannot be imagined. Their work will make them masters of spaces in the world market, and so they will find a way out of stagnation and help all of society to make progress towards a higher phase of material and social development.

3. On this occasion I must also stress that our orientation toward exports -- greater and more equitable participation in the international division of labor -- represents the strategic orientation of the long-term stabilization program. Without this orientation there can be no objective conditions for us to develop our production forces: To make better, more rational, and more efficient use of and further develop our untapped material and cadre potentials, and make better use of our production and other resources. The analyses and assessments that we so often discussed at the SFRY Assembly recently clearly show that it is precisely in this sphere that the main disruptions of our economy exist, particularly in relations with the developed countries' economies. This is not so much because of the amount of credits we have been taking -- though that is undoubtedly too high -- as it is primarily because of the way these credits have been used and applied. We have not used them to strengthen our orientation towards and forces of production for exports to the convertible area or to ensure the necessary inflow of foreign currency and the necessary balance in economic relations with these countries.

All our efforts to begin to surmount this situation are known. The chief and the most difficult tasks will await us.

To the extent that exports to the convertible area represent our need to produce at all, we must work out a consistent program of exports as part of the entire strategy and policy of long-term development as soon as possible and in keeping with the stabilization program. The most capable cadres of the economy and science must be committed to this in order to translate our general orientations into practice -- concrete programs and relations between organizations of associated labor -- in the best possible way.

However, without waiting for the formulation of the long-term program, we must, in line with the orientations of the stabilization program adopted, take the necessary measures and engage in necessary activity without hesitation to continue with the economic policy that stimulates orientation toward exports. In this direction the plan of implementing the stabilization program envisages a whole series of activities this year and next. The economic chamber of Yugoslavia and the interest community of Yugoslavia for economic relations with other countries should formulate a plan in order that our industry, as early as next year and not at some remote point in the future, realizes primarily through better use and perfecting of existing possibilities and through exports a foreign exchange inflow to the amount equal to the reproduction needs of the entire chain of production. This is by no means an unrealistic goal. We could reach this goal relatively quickly with a rather more businesslike spirit and responsibility of economic subjects and banks and with better and greater organization of all the protagonists who work for exports, of course, with the relevant economic policy and in conditions of existing foreign credits. This would make for a great relief of the country's economic situation in 1984, a great contribution, above all, to stabilizing production itself.

What is of particular urgency is to determine the program and to undertake everything necessary for the speedy consolidation of the export expansion of agriculture and tourism -- what I have in mind in this context is not to continue with the present situation in which tourism is reduced to 10-15 days' stay at the seaside -- but the development of Yugoslavia, as a whole, as a tourist country. And, in addition to that, the development of services in general. It is evident that these spheres could stimulate most speedily an increased foreign exchange inflow. This would constitute great support for the necessary structural changes and a possibility for the country to resolve more speedily and more successfully the problems of supplies to the population.

It appears normal that following a state of haphazardness, disorder, and irresponsibility, a state, or atmosphere, of "playing safe," both on the part of the organs which arrange economic relations and on the part of the commercial people should set in. We must emerge from the situation as quickly as possible whereby every business move -- even the smallest and most rational -- in relations with foreign countries requires dozens of stamps and guarantees. We must differentiate between normal business conduct, which cannot exist without risk, and irresponsibility, taking chances, or crime. It is with our regulations and functioning of the system and of mechanisms in the country that we must insure ourselves against irresponsible business moves by individual subjects which could lead the country into a difficult position with regard to other countries. The legislation and regulations, in particular concerning the functions of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, which we adopted at the last session of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces, serve precisely this aim. This is no temporary measure on account of the state of our obligations toward other countries. This is and must be a component part of the decentralized self-managing system, and as such we must lick it into shape and build it up. This is a necessary function of society and of the state organs precisely in order that the subjects of the self-managing system could establish independently relations with partners abroad.

This is also a condition for the bank to fulfill the obligations on which it has embarked because of itself and because of its responsibility toward society as a whole. We must build up this function of the National Bank of Yugoslavia in the sense that there is the least possible interference by it in the actual distribution of foreign exchange -- unfortunately, because of our current difficult situation, it must do so now -- but that there is full and efficient control of the implementation of obligations to other countries, right up to sanctions, if these obligations are not implemented.

To strengthen this control function of the National Bank of Yugoslavia provides the opportunity for us to make the regulations which we are adopting, in particular the measures of the FEC and administrative organs, even more normal, to eliminate everything which by "playing safe" and in a bureaucratic manner constrains sound necessary business attitudes. The incomprehensible stagnations, slowness, and complications which we have had since the beginning of the year in using commodity credits in particular, sound a serious warning about this problem. All the more so, since this type of behavior has also affected the business cadres in organizations of associated labor and in banks to the extent of their adopting an irresponsible attitude toward the solution of very delicate and acute problems. Those who "play safe", bureaucrats and those who are "never at fault" have never been and are not capable now of extricating us from the grave situation, of achieving fresh breakthroughs. This applies in general to all revolutionary ventures but also to our current situation in which every day a whole series of problems have to be resolved, responsible decisions made -- by assuming also necessary risks. What I have in mind in this context are the problems connected with the imports of cotton, oil, medicines, detergents, and such like.

What is urgent is that all responsible subjects in the chamber of economy and in commercial banks organize themselves and make themselves capable of speedily drawing on available credits. Because every day means greater possibility for production. Of course, the FEC, too, and if necessary also the SFRY Assembly, for their part, must eliminate the obstacles and unnecessary complications in regulations, if they exist.

4. By proceeding from the well-known assessments and appraisals in the stabilization program about relations to date and the policy of expanded reproduction and general social consumption having threatended current production to the point of crisis, we must, still this year and next, also undertake other measures and use everything at our disposal to make this situation change more decisively.

We must fundamentally verify and build up, in the spirit of the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, the system and the money issue policy and the monetary-credit and banking system. In the spirit of the stabilization program, we must see that, within closer material bounds for all social resources, priority be given to production -- the only basis from which higher income and a broader material framework for all social needs might come. At the moment, the opposite is clearly the case. Investments and all social consumption are still met with relative ease from high quality resources, while current production has been left to use short-term credit resources at unbearably high cost. In such a disrupted state of the economy, the usual economic measure -- increase in interest rates on credit resources -- affects current production instead of investments and causes undesirable effects. We must thus eliminate the causes of such a situation as quickly as possible.

5. The activity plan to imporve internal liquidity, primarily production, also envisages the procedure of rescheduling obligations that have matured but that have not been met, conversion of some short-term credits from primary issue or their ceding to the economy for the benefit of permanent working capital and other relevant measures. The rescheduling of obligations will have to be borne by organizations of associated labor mutually linked in the process of reproduction or by banks. Necessary space can and must be given to those who guarantee that they will make use of it and that they will increase general efficiency with their work. By its size and duration this space cannot be a matter for voluntarist administrative estimates but can be of the extent other producers can bear without threatening their own production. In essence the same will also happen with the conversion of short-term credits -- the easing on one side will be felt as stricter conditions on the other. Thus we must be realistic. This will be relatively minor, but significant nevetheless, if directed to the appropriate places, to those through the rehabilitation of which the entire chain of production gains in efficiency. This therefore must be extended only to those who with their work will make use of it to rehabilitate and promote their financial situation and the state in general in the production chain. It must not be allowed, as on many occasions in the past, that this possibility be distributed in a linear manner and thus toss meager social resources irretrievably into a bottomless pit.

No matter what difficult situation we are in, it must not happen that the program for the internal liquidity of production reaches out for various manipulations that fictitiously meet the needs of society for resources. The consequences of such manipulations and combinations are always, and also now, borne by all society. We cannot achieve the state of a sound economy by means and methods that have led us into disruptions. Moreover, all of us, from the basic organization of associated labor to the federation, still face a lot of work in eliminating various possibilities of declaring fictitious assets and consumption on the basis of such manipulations.

6. However, it is clear from analyses of the state of internal liquidity that all measures that include relations in production itself are not enough to create that necessary material space in which production can get moving and begin stimulation. It is beyond dispute that all social consumption has placed itself above and beyond real achievements; I would not say real potentials and possibilities of production, today. It is precisely in the assessment of this aspect that we must determine and implement the program of changes. That which we have achieved in past years and this year is evidently not enough. No matter how painful and difficult it might be, we must reduce social consumption to a level that creates for production the necessary space and encouragement to better use its potentials -- better work and better organization, greater efficiency; to tear itself away from stagnation, to start moving -- and thus enable all of society to achieve further successful development and satisfaction of social needs on the basis of the real income realized.

It is thus clear that what awaits us and all the subjects making decisions on this in society is immediate work in determining the necessary proportions, the way, and the methods by which we shall this year and in the years to come reduce even more resolutely and rigorously all social consumption to the limits of real income -- to an extent that does not threaten, as it has, the function of the market in our system. This makes possible a gradual and selective revival of production, in particular for exports. It is also clear that this will mean cutting into many rights which have constituted themselves without respect for these objective, real frameworks.

This, too, cannot be linear. We must evaluate and then decide upon everything that has been agreed upon: What can society give up more easily and more painlessly, where will there be less damage for society, or how do we direct these cuts where there is already a need to change things more resolutely, in order to rationalize behavior as a whole and to organize society more rationally and more efficiently.

The question that arises in this context is -- how, in what way can this be done? We must organize the forces so that we may implement this great venture, however short we are of time, by building with this task, too, social relations in keeping with the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor. Racing constantly against time, because we are acting after the event -- when the frameworks of consumption are exceeded -- we are continuously forced to intervene from outside with measures by state organs. For years it has been continuously demonstrated that in our society this method is not efficient, that it is experienced as an imposed measure which many self-managing subjects are trying to and succeed in circumventing and not implementing. In view of our immense responsibility for implementing the stabilization program, we should find enough unity and enough strength to implement this great venture, which represents one of the crucial conditions of the stabilization program, in a way that translates into reality the slogan about workers in basic organizations of associated labor managing, directly or through their delegations, all social reproduction and income as a whole.

In practical terms, this would mean, that on the basis of socially established and agreed upon proportions (and the basis of this is contained in the stabilization program), workers in basic organizations, either alone or through communication with delegations, determine the volume and the purpose of the social resources that they manage.

With reference to accumulation, they pool it in direct relations with organizations of associated labor or through the banking mechanism; with reference to allocations for social activities, they do it in direct relations of exchange of labor or through their delegations in self-managing interest communities, and as regards general social needs, through delegations in the municipality, republic, province of federation. What is essential in this, of course, is that all the workers' decisions, direct or through delegations, on distribution should not exceed the limit of real income and measures; such would threaten production. This limit must be in the hands of workers in basic organizations of associated labor. The entire social mechanism must not cut into income above that which has been realized. In these relations, the workers must know and feel directly that it is production that has priority in distribution and also that to satisfy the needs of other functions necessary to production, of the social standard of workers and their broader social needs and interests, depends directly on the amount of income they realize and on the way they distribute it.

We must build these relations not only becuae it is our duty to do so, according to the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, but also because under conditions of self-management this is the only way that eliminates those deeper causes of the disruptions that have emerged. It is with this system and with the mechanisms of its functioning that we are building relations that in the very act of distribution, and not after the event, ensure that all social consumption constantly confronts the real amount of income and that it is maintained within the limit of that income. It is equally important that, in this way, all distribution of social resources is subjected to the control and criterion of workers in productin.

This is the way to make the stabilization program the real program of the working class and working people -- to mobilize them and to make them the chief subject of its implementation. Furthermore, it is also a way for the delegate system to implement in all spheres of social life its function determined by the Constitution and the political system. And, it goes without saying, it is also the basis for a different role and function of the executive organs of the delegate assemblies.

It would also be worthwhile to realize major ventures in the further development of the self-managing and delegate system now when these grave tasks crucial for the country's future are being resolved, and not leave them for better times. Should the development of self-management not be a unified process and a process simultaneous with resolving the problems that have arisen through material disruption, we will not only not develop self-management but we will certainly also not eliminate the causes that have led our society to the very brink of a crisis situation. The "starting foundations" and "the final part" of the stabilization program have provided real assessments on this. This by itself means that to normalize the situation through administrative measures creates only an illusion of our having resolved problems. These problems will break out again after some time -- certainly in an even more severe form. So when we adopt decisions or when we wage action to resolve the major problems noted in the stabilization program, it is up to us to find the real answer, not only to the question of what is to be resolved, but also how and by what ways and methods this should be done.

8. On the assumption that we will create -- because we have to -- through measures of monetary-credit policy, through relations among organizations of associated labor and between them and banks, as well as through more significant reduction in overall social consumption within existing conditions, maximum space for production, a more realistic basis for implementing the system and the policy of prices established in the stabilization program will also be ensured. The danger of an explosion of prices is known to be contained in the immense burdens borne by the unit of product, in large irrationalities in the very organizaions of associated labor, in the excessive demand formed outside the framework of real income, beyond the real goods produced for the market. What is happening with prices is only a consequence of this and it can be concealed only by administrative and uneconomic measures, but it will break out somewhere else at one time or another. After all, we have the opportunity to see this happening in the intervals in which prices have been either frozen or unfrozen in the last few years. It must be clear to us that the pressure of prices has not yet spent itself and that we must gradually relax it. Our goal -- that the organizations of associated labor in direct relations of cooperation (not on the basis of monopoly but in relations of entirety of reproduction) independently determine their prices -- can be realized only if we create conditions for this with the whole economic policy. These moves are interdependent; they should be synchronized, but at the same time one should march resolutely in that direction. Uneconomic interference in price formation over the many years has left deformations, many wrong mirrors, and wrong orientations for the behavior of economic subjects and consumers. Without implementing the right of producers to determine independently the prices of their products that are tested on the domestic or foreign market, there can be no independence for them as producers, or objective criteria for their production orientation, for their development and direction of association. There can be no motivation either for higher productivity, because the producer is oriented toward organs that determine the prices and he thus sees the causes of possible losses only there.

9. The chief and crucial activity in implementing the long-term stabilization program and the main test of the value of its orientation and practical worth will be carried out by workers in basic and other organizations of associated labor.

All solutions will prove their worth only in production. But this is also the place whence permanently and continuously signals, orientatins and demands should come for real answers to real problems of life, into delegate assemblies and other organized socialist forces. Work collectives, too, should compile plans of implementation according to priorities and dynamics: on long-term strategic production and association on this basis with other organizations of associated labor and on tasks that should be urgently undertaken now.

Despite all the troubles that society is experiencing, one should proceed from the fact that prior development has on the whole been successful, that the working class of Yugoslavia has at its disposal immense social resources and modern technology, that it has at its disposal a high level of education and significant scientific potential. Material and social potentials that have not been sufficiently utilized are immense.

Workers in organizations of associated labor must analyze their situation carefully and in detail. Here too, the general assessments about insufficient use of capacities should be translated into the assessment of the work of every machine, of every worker, of every organization, of every production technology.

With the initiative of experts and workers, ways should be found to have the machines work all day, to have us employ as much knowledge and as many people as possible because the unsatisfied needs of people in the domestic and foreign markets are great. More flexibility should be introduced into drafting production programs; innovations should be introduced in line with the interests of the market and the possibility of purchasing the necessary materials. There, too, conservatism, resistance to innovation, leveling out, and, in general, reconciliation with the average, should be broken down. Within the collectives, one should struggle for material and moral incentives for those who create more and better.

As in society as a whole, work collectives too must compile their balance sheet: What is it that unnecessarily encumbers production costs, how to reduce the burdens per unit of product, how to promote and make production cheaper by associating and with as few resources as possible?

What lies before us is a period of several years in which both on account of very limited resources as well as on account of our making maximum use of existing possibilities -- we must direct accumulation above all at the promotion of that which exists, at eliminating bottlenecks in the entire process of reproduction, at those relatively small investments which yield quick results. In relations with other countries, too, one should ease up on large projects and large and long-term investments. Orientations should be first and foremost toward joint investments, toward projects in which that which exists is made capable and perfected for export production.

10. The country's disruptions and difficulties should not bypass the spheres of social activities either. Immense problems are arising in education, science, the health service, through the increasing restriction on resources. All this is proceeding still in the worst possible way -- by linear reduction in resources, personal incomes, and resources for basic functions. But, in these spheres, too, the stabilization program should not mean "survive in order to return to where we were."

Here, too, in order that stabilization might succeed, those profound reforms of which we have been talking for years -- coordination of development and activities according to the needs of associated labor, more rational organization, greater efficiency, higher quality work, etc -- must be implemented more radically and more speedily, if the call had ever been valid -- and now in particular -- for science and education, as well as other activities, having to become in practice with their work and their contribution, the most significant production forces of society. The place of all scientific and other expert workers is production and the entire country's economy -- both in formulating strategic plans and orientations and also in day by day practical activity that that which is new and more progressive be implemented. This is the only method and way for them to implement the goals of stabilization program in all social work, linked with workers in material production and together with them.

There are still many questions in the plan for implementing the stabilization program which require elaboration; some of them even require urgent action. All this is in various stages of preparation in order that the implementation of the long-term programs be elaborated simultaneously, continuously, and in line with a dynamic plan, and in order that, in line with the goals of the long-term stabilization program, current measures and activities be undertaken. We must do everything possible in order that in the given circumstances we achieve the best possible results in 1983 and in order that we prepare on time the documents for the development policy and all the measures of the economic policy for 1984. The commission for the implementation of the FEC stabilization program will make its contribution to having all the problems elaborated, examined, and resolved in the best way possible in the direction of the basic orientation and specific resolutions reached in the work on the stabilization program.

The SFRY Assembly and the delegate system as a whole have in the implementation of the long-term stabilization program a crucial responsibility and an opportunity to realize in this work that necessary transformation from a parliament, that is from a system of representation, to real delegate assemblies. Regardless of reality continuing to impose the need for urgent measures and interventions, the FEC will in many respects have to change its method and technology of work both in preparing and in monitoring the implementation of the stabilization program. Despite all the difficulties of work in these conditions it must not be allowed to become enslaved by inertia, incapable for work in implementing these major strategic goals and orientations of the long-term stabilization program. This refers in particular to issues that are exclusively or chiefly within the jurisdiction of the federation.

However, success in implementing the stabilization program will depend on whether we are implementing unity in its entirety, on all its essential questions, both in the approach to it and in action. Many of these fundamental issues are exclusively or chiefly within the jurisdiction of the republics, autonomous provinces, or municipalities. It has been shown as necessary for this policy to be directed in a single direction, agreed upon, and its implementation monitored by the federation. The results, for instance, in the tasks of reducing all forms of consumption to the real frameworks of income, tax policy, social policy, employment policy, and such like can be adopted and successfully implemented only if there is united and joint action throughout the country. It would be a good thing if the work on the speedier coordination, agreement-reaching and monitoring of solutions of these problems, which cannot be bypassed in the program as a whole, were to be organized in the SFRY Assembly through the direct activity of the delegate system and with the necessary participation of the FEC.

Of course, these are questions which the SFRY Assembly will ascertain. But, already now, at the beginning of the work, it is obvious that in our entire organization we must find solutions for agreement-reaching and monitoring of work on these questions, without which there will be no true results in other spheres either.

In conclusion, comrade delegates, I propose that gratitude be expressed to all those numerous expert, scientific, and political workers who have taken part in formulating this whole program and that they and all others be invited to participate in its implementation.